

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Callahan

DATE: 2-10-69

FROM : J. B. Adams *JBA*

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

filed 4-1-69
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

"Ramparts Magazine," the muckraking West Coast monthly, continues to experience financial problems, as reflected in the attached item from the "Wall Street Journal" of 2-4-69.

According to this item the magazine has gone into Federal court seeking relief under the Bankruptcy Act, specifically an arrangement for both paying its debts and continuing publication.

RECOMMENDATION:

None; for information.

1
ENCLOSURE

Enclosure
WEC:klb *klb*
(4)

1 - Crime Records Division
1 - Personnel File of

mm *smc* *✓* *mm*
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/21/80 BY lic

REC-111

100-445393-14

14 FEB 12 1969

44
56 FEB 18 1969

100-445393

PERS. FILE UNIT

Ramparts Magazine Files Chapter 11 Proceeding ^{7/4/69}

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

SAN FRANCISCO — Financially troubled Ramparts Magazine Inc., publishers of the monthly muckraking Ramparts Magazine, sought relief under the Bankruptcy Act in Federal district court here.

The concern filed a Chapter 11 proceeding, saying it can't pay its debts as they mature, but seeking approval of an arrangement for both paying its debts and continuing publication. The company listed debts of \$3,078,670 and assets of \$1,258,858 in papers filed with the court.

By filing for the proceeding, the concern won't be liable to any foreclosure proceeding.

Raymond Aniter, an attorney representing the publishing company, said its problems were caused by excessive publishing costs and said the company intended to cut down on its overhead, especially reducing its use of color printing.

Comment wasn't immediately available from any officials of the six-year-old magazine. Its San Francisco telephone number was answered by a recording that said the number was out of service and added that a new number wasn't available.

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-146

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 2/13/69

FROM:

Cur SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT:

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

ReBulet to San Francisco, dated 1/15/69, and
report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 10/3/68, at San
Francisco. *144*
140

Enclosed are five copies of a letterhead memorandum

[Redacted] Dr. FRANZ
GRONECK who used the alias of HADJI MOHAMMED ABDUL HADI and was
born May 28, 1899, at Vienna, Austria. *CAL*

The source utilized in the letterhead memorandum is

[Redacted] who requested
that his identity be protected.

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~SEC~~ STATE

DATE FORW:

BY:

3/6/69

WLS/gdw

100 924

REC-31

100-445393-147

3 FEB 17 1969

INT. SEC.

105

ENCLOSURE

59 MAR 20 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/1/00 BY 105

ST-105

REC-31

100-445393-147

3 FEB 17 1969

INT. SEC.

105

ENCLOSURE

59 MAR 20 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

5010-108-02

191170

105

L FILED IN b6 b7C b7D

REC COPY AND COPY OF



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

February 13, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

MAHMOUD ABDEL-HADI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE _____ BY me

The December 14 - 28, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" Magazine listed MAHMOUD ABDEL-HADI as a staff writer in its masthead.

A characterization of "Ramparts" Magazine is attached hereto.

The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of Northern California, 630 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California, for the captioned individual were checked on October 25, 1968, but no record could be located.

The records of the Central Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., were checked for the captioned individual on November 15, 1968, but no record could be located.

The September 7, 1968 issue of "Ramparts" Magazine contained an article on the interview of the family of SIRHAN SIRHAN which developed SIRHAN's motives for assassinating Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY. An introduction to this article described captioned individual as an Egyptian correspondent for "Akhbar Elyoum" of Cairo, Egypt.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, [redacted]

The records of the Department of Motor Vehicles, Driver's License Section, Sacramento, California, were checked on December 27, 1968 and reflected that a Class 3 driver's license, Number [redacted] was issued on [redacted] to [redacted]

[redacted] who was born on [redacted]

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100-445393-147
ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

1 - Mr. T. P. Druken

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

3-19-69

Director, FBI (100-445393)

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

The 3-7-69 edition of the "San Francisco Chronicle" which was forwarded by your Office to the Bureau, contains information relative to the financial condition of captioned publication.

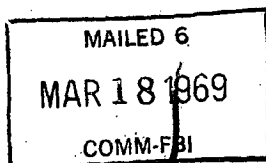
You should immediately, through established sources, ascertain details regarding this matter and furnish pertinent information developed to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination. This matter should be closely followed by your Office and the Bureau kept apprised of all subsequent pertinent developments.

TPD:hls

(4) *hls*

NOTE:

"Ramparts," self described as an "independent liberal magazine of dissent," is published at San Francisco, California. In the recent past it has encountered financial difficulties and the article referred to above contains information relative to a bankruptcy hearing in the Federal Court at San Francisco.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/21/80 BY me

54 MAR 25 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 3/11/69

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Transmit the following ^{APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF}

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

DATE 11-1-80

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

(ADM)

SUBJECT:

ReNYairtels, 1/9/69, and 2/17/69.

b7D

b7D
b7E

M. F. R. 622118

APPROVED MAR 18 1969
Date

3-Bureau (RM)

1-New York (100-164974) (NYPS) (42)

1-New York

1-Supv. #42

100-445393-
NOT RECORDED
165 MAR 24 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SPR 11/5/80
REASON-FCM
DATE OF REVIEW 3/11/89

MAR 27 1969

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U) [redacted] ~~C~~

b7D

The source has been in contact with individuals

[redacted]

(U) [redacted] ~~C~~

In view of the above,

[redacted]

[redacted]

OK
DW

b7D
b7E

(U) [redacted] ~~C~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 3/25/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Re Bureau letter to San Francisco, dated 3/19/69,
and San Francisco airtel to the Bureau, dated 1/29/69

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letter-
head memorandum reporting the anticipated bankruptcy (voluntary)
of "Ramparts" Magazine.

Activities and accounts of this organization will be
followed and reported.

AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, ~~SECRET~~

DATE FORW: 4/1/69
HOW FORW: (info.)
BY: TPD/gdw

1cc 924D REC 74

100-445393-149

18 MAR 27 1969

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/sms #11
(4)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

60 APR 8 - 1969



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

March 25, 1969

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

The Clerk of the District Court for the Northern District of California received a petition on March 4, 1969, from "Ramparts" Magazine under the provision of Chapter XI of the National Bankruptcy Act. "Ramparts" petitioned for a stay of all contracts and suits to allow it to arrange its finances and continue publication.

"Ramparts" in its petition listed its assets and liabilities as follows:

Wage Claims	\$ 27,562.65
Federal Wage Withholding Taxes	51,635.58
California Employment Tax	1,481.03
Creditors Holding Securities	4,246,747.83

"Ramparts" subsequently filed with the Clerk of the Court a Cash Flow Projection reflecting anticipated income and expenses for the period through June, 1969. A deficit of \$115,000 for operation through June, 1969, was anticipated.

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DATE 7/11/80 BY uc

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100-445393-149
ENCLOSURE

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Cash Flow Projection
February-June 1969

	<u>February</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Five Month Total</u>
Receipts						
Subscription	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	115,000
Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Advertising	20,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	68,000
List Rental Income	10,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	55,000
Special Early Renewal-Sub	-	30,000	30,000	-	-	60,000
Expire Mailing	-	-	17,000	-	-	17,000
Book Sales	-	10,000	10,000	10,000	15,000	45,000
Real Estate Income	10,000	-	-	50,000	30,000	90,000
Cash Available 2/1/69	15,000	-	-	-	-	15,000
Total	115,000	110,000	128,000	126,000	107,000	586,000
Disbursements						
Operating Budget	84,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	412,000
Legal Fees	5,000	5,000	5,000	-	-	15,000
Pmt to Secured Creditors						
-Subscription Income	23,000	15,000	-	-	-	38,000
-Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Early Renewal Mailing	8,000	-	-	-	-	8,000
Expire Mailing	-	12,000	-	-	-	12,000
Accrued Payrolls & Taxes	45,000	-	50,000	-	-	95,000
Total	202,000	134,000	158,000	103,000	104,000	701,000
Cash Need-This Month	(87,000)	(24,000)	(30,000)	23,000	3,000	(115,000)

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INCORPORATED (In proceedings under Chapter XI of the Bankruptcy Act)

Monthly Cash Flow Projection March through June, 1969

Receipts:	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Subscription revenues, regular	\$ 23,000	\$ 23,000	\$ 23,000	\$ 23,000	\$ 92,000
special mailings		15,000	25,000	25,000	65,000
Advertising revenue collections	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	48,000
Circulation revenue collections	30,000	12,000	18,000	18,000	78,000
Interest, notes, collections	40,000		50,000		90,000
Book publishing advances		25,000	15,000	10,000	50,000
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL: Operating Receipts:	\$ <u>105,000</u>	\$ <u>87,000</u>	\$ <u>143,000</u>	\$ <u>88,000</u>	\$ <u>423,000</u>
Disbursements:					
Expenditures, as budgeted	\$ 79,000	\$ 79,000	\$ 79,000	\$ 79,000	\$ 316,000
Special subscriber mailings	16,000				16,000
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL: Operating Disbursements:	\$ <u>95,000</u>	\$ <u>79,000</u>	\$ <u>79,000</u>	\$ <u>79,000</u>	\$ <u>332,000</u>
Cash Available, from Operations:	\$ 10,000	\$ 8,000	\$ 64,000	\$ 9,000	\$ 91,000
New Investment Funds committed:	<u>40,000</u>	<u>55,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>	<u> </u>	<u>115,000</u>
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL: Cash on hand, for the month:	\$ <u>50,000</u>	\$ <u>63,000</u>	\$ <u>84,000</u>	\$ <u>9,000</u>	\$ <u>206,000</u>
TOTAL: Cash on hand, cumulative:*	\$ <u>50,000</u>	\$ <u>113,000</u>	\$ <u>197,000</u>	\$ <u>206,000</u>	\$ <u>206,000</u>

NB:*Excluded from projected disbursements above are \$ 80,000 in priority wage and other claims to be paid prior to confirmation of a Plan of Arrangement

Rainbow House Commitments: 20,000
Bentley Books Commitments: 50,000 } *Payable over next four months*

Date 3/26/69

To:

BU 100-445393

☒ Director

Att.: DIVISION 5

Title

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE,
INCORPORATED
IS - C; REGISTRATION
ACT

☐ SAC

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

☐ Agent HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-14-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

☐ SE

☐ IC

RE: San Francisco airtel and
LHM to Bureau, 3/25/69

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial #

☐ Post

☐ Recharge

☐ Return

☐ Send to

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Attached for the Bureau are 11 copies each of two financial statements for "Ramparts" Magazine. Please attach them to referenced San Francisco LHM

REGISTERED

CHARLES W. BATES
SAN FRANCISCO
Office

See reverse side

(SF 157-459)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REC-211
pgs 34, 35, 37, 38, 39

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/18/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/1/68 - 4/10/69
TITLE OF CASE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		REPORT MADE BY EDWARD J. O'FLYNN	TYPED BY cab
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C REGISTRATION ACT	

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 10/3/68, at San Francisco.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" as information furnished by SF T-1 through SF T-7, if divulged, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

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DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED: [signature]

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

- 5 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (157-459)

100-445393-150

REC 8

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter 4-14-76
Per FOIA Request 29P

R 21 1969

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACS, OSI, ONI, RAD/ISA
Request Recd.	IRS (By Liaison) 4/28/69
Date Fwd.	[signature]
How Fwd.	[signature]
By	TPD/gdw/cc 924

Notations

**NO DISSEMINATION
SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS APPLY
SEE TOP SERIAL**

67 MAY 8 - 1969

SF 157-459
EJO/cab

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[Redacted]

(Conceal by request)

b6
b7C
b7D

SF T-2 is

[Redacted]

(established source)

SF T-3 is

[Redacted]

(Conceal by request)

SF T-4 is

[Redacted]

SF T-5 is

[Redacted]

(Established source)

SF T-6 is

[Redacted]

SF T-7 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN Office: SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 4/18/69
Field Office File #: 157-459 Bureau File #: 100-445393
Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis: "Ramparts" filed a petition for voluntary bankruptcy on 3/4/69.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The history of financial and factional struggle for control of "Ramparts" set forth. Identity of financial supporters and projections for continued operation set forth from bankruptcy records. "Ramparts" [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

- P* -

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

DECLASSIFIED BY 2909DJS/hl
ON 4-28-78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)
DATE 5/3/78
DPT/sum
[signature]

Page



34,38

b6
b7C

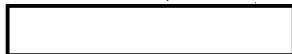
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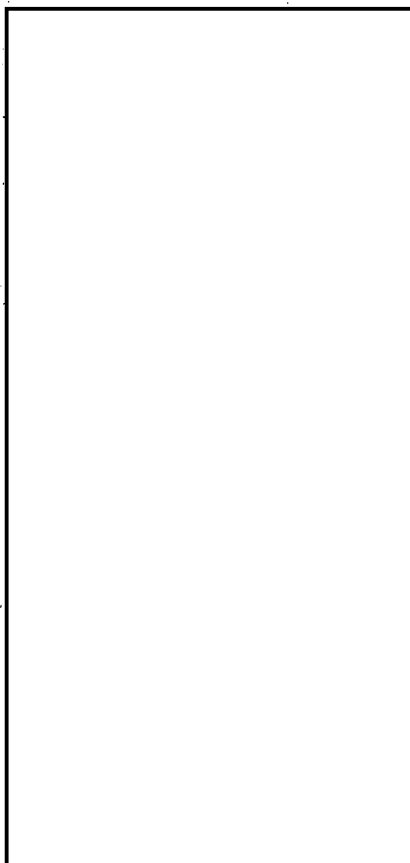
6,9,10,12,13
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RABINOWITZ, VICTOR

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21,40

6,19

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SF 157-459
EJO/cab

DETAILS:

PREDICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if "Ramparts" Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, etcetera, while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

A. History and Corporate Structure

Proposed Offering of Public Stock

Source advised that "Ramparts" Magazine had contacted several accounting firms in the San Francisco area for the purpose of conducting an audit of their records covering the last three years. "Ramparts" desired that a certified statement of accounts be issued preparatory to making possible offering of "Ramparts" stock. Source stated that the accounting firms were reluctant to accept this audit because of the poor condition of "Ramparts" financial records and the possibility that "Ramparts" might go into bankruptcy. It was felt that if "Ramparts" went into bankruptcy after the issuance of stock to the public, that the purchasers might bring suit against the auditing firm alleging misrepresentation of financial condition and falsely inducing purchases.

SF T-1
10/1/68

Resignation of Warren Hinckle,
President and Editorial Director

The February 8, 1969, issue of the "Guardian," self-described as a new left radical weekly publication, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Hits the Barricades" by ART GOLDBERG, datelined San Francisco. *u*

ART GOLDBERG is listed on the masthead in the April, 1969, issue of "Ramparts" as an Assistant Editor.

A characterization of the "Guardian" is contained in the Appendix.

This article read in its entirety as follows:

"Ramparts magazine is still alive. Its key editorial people, including editor-in-chief Robert Scheer, art director Dugald Stermer, and editors David Horowitz, Peter Collier and David Kolodney are still with the magazine as is the large majority of its staff.

"This directly contradicts reports in the New York Times and San Francisco Chronicle, but it is true. Ramparts, as usual, is in serious financial difficulty, but in many ways its future prospects seem good.

"The current confusion began when Warren Hinckle resigned as president and editorial director of Ramparts Jan. 29. Before he officially resigned, Hinckle informed the New York Times of the action he was taking, then flew back to San Francisco to inform the directors of Ramparts. Hinckle also told the Times that the staff of Ramparts was going to start a new magazine with him. He implied that Ramparts was dead.

"The directors of Ramparts did not agree with Hinckle's assessment that it would be impossible to keep the magazine alive, and voted to continue to publish Ramparts. The staff, likewise, although it was several paychecks behind, showed no inclination to jump into a new magazine.

"In the past few months, there had been dissatisfaction among the staff about the way Ramparts was being run. This was true of outside contributors as well as those working in

the San Francisco office. As a result, the staff formed itself into a union to push for, among other things, a more regularized pay schedule, greater voice in editorial policy, and an improvement in working conditions (i.e., a less chaotic environment with fewer arbitrary decisions).

"Undemocratic

"One reason for the decline in staff morale was the undemocratic way decisions were made. As both president and editorial director, Hinckle controlled the finances, and had final say on all editorial matters. It was not unusual to find issues torn apart at the last minute or stories drastically changed.

"The basic idea behind Ramparts was to bring radical and left ideas to a public not normally attracted to radical journals. To accomplish this, a certain amount of promotion and sensationalism was thought necessary. Ramparts articles on Vietnam, and the CIA involvement there, played a role in building the antiwar movement.

"After a time, however, the promotional approach began to have diminishing results. Style was sometimes valued over editorial content. People were sent off around the country on stories that were never used. Missed deadlines resulted in lost money that no amount of publicity could make up. Money was often spent unwisely (it cost the magazine \$50,000 to send 36 people to Chicago for the Democratic convention and to publish five issues of a wallposter there). It became more difficult to raise money to meet Ramparts' yearly deficit.

"Some actual and potential financial helpers of Ramparts withdrew their funds because of

the magazine's stand on Israel (generally pro-Arab) and its positive attitude toward the Black Panther party. Other potential investors wanted the magazine to support Sen. Eugene McCarthy, but it refused.

"As the money pressures built up, Ramparts tried to become a biweekly. This worked for a time, but it slowly began to have an adverse effect on the editorial content.

"Early in January, Hinckle left for New York in an effort to raise the money to keep Ramparts alive. He told the directors that he was unable to raise the necessary amount, but had been able to raise enough to start a new magazine, with the same staff, a different name (Barricades), the same Ramparts format, but without Ramparts' past debts.

"That was rejected by the board. It was felt that Ramparts had a large and loyal group of readers who had supported the magazine in the past, and that it had a national reputation for provocative journalism that was worth preserving.

"The board felt that if Ramparts could cut down drastically on production costs (less color and slick paper), lower its administrative costs, go back to a monthly schedule and eliminate some of the expensive practices that Hinckle favored, it had a good chance for survival.

"It was decided that Ramparts would enter voluntary bankruptcy to give it time to reorganize and raise new capital. The bankruptcy proceedings would dissolve much of the past debts while permitting the magazine to publish.

"Editorial decisions are expected to be made by an editorial board drawn from the editorial staff. 'I hope we can run this magazine more like a collective,' Scheer said.

(The author is an assistant editor of Ramparts.)

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Factional Struggle for Control of "Ramparts"

The Thursday, March 27, 1969, issue of the "San Francisco Bay Guardian," a weekly newspaper of general circulation distributed principally in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts-Revolution With Limousine Services," by IVAN ~~CHARPE~~. This article was based upon an interview of FREDERICK C. MITCHELL, 29 year old publisher of "Ramparts," and a review of "Ramparts" Petition in Bankruptcy. This article read in part as follows:

"This clash of styles vividly splashed forth last August at the Chicago Democratic Convention: Scheer (Robert Scheer, Editor in Chief) in the streets with the demonstrators, Hinckle (Warren Hinckle, III, President and Editorial Director) high above in the Ambassador hotel before a television set. It prompted an irrevocable split between Scheer and Hinckle (who, with art director Dugald Stermer, were Ramparts' ruling triumvirate) and touched off events leading to Hinckle's resignation and final tour de force.

"Mitchell (Frederick C. Mitchell, Publisher) calls it 'a horror story.' Hinckle's idea was to produce a daily wall poster for the National Mobilization Committee. Only a handful of editorials were ever produced and demonstrators promptly accused Ramparts of blatant self-promotion. Hinckle's entourage entertained with gusto in roisterous all-night parties in an Ambassador Hotel suite. Total Chicago bill: almost \$15,000.

"Mitchell said disgustedly: 'Cronies from the Times were hanging around carousing and boozing it up while people were having their heads cracked down on the streets, people more or less our allies, the people we were leading on, writing about and writing for.'

"Says Scheer: 'It was like having two magazines. I went out on Michigan Ave. and got teargassed and clubbed and I never saw Warren for three days. His style there was offensive to me.'

"Hinckle retorted with characteristic barroom blunt: 'F___ the New Left,' adding incredulously, 'I was supposed to go out in the streets and watch that shit?'

"In house dissent had long been as much a Ramparts constant as had the magazine's dissenting editorial stance. When Scheer raked the Vietnam coals, Hinckle complained the magazine was getting too political. When Hinckle then wrote about 'women power,' Mitchell and Scheer thought he was silly and shrill. 'I was overseas at the time,' Scheer told me. 'Had I been here, it wouldn't have run.' For Hinckle, many staffers lamented, a story wasn't a story until it could command a full page New York Times ad.

"'Ramparts was one big, crazy deal,' said Hinckle in our interview. 'We were always broke and staving off disaster. It was one mad, zany thing after another. The staff wanted serious political analysis, but I didn't give a damn. It would still be something like the Berkeley Barb if it had been left to them.'

"Scheer said less forcefully: 'There was always tension in Ramparts between Warren's cynicism and the people who were serious in their political concern. Warren is very much the big city news reporter, pragmatic and cynical, believing that basically the world is corrupt and nothing can change that.'

"Mitchell leaned to Scheer's views. 'I think we'd like the magazine to be exciting and vital --whatever that means--but rather more analytical and less concerned with tub thumping.'

[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Whatever Ramparts is now or will become, Ed Keating doesn't like it. Keating, 42, is bitter and angry, not unreasonably so since he and his wife poured all the money they had, about \$800,000, into it. Hinckle forces then ousted him even though he held some 47 per cent of the stock.

[REDACTED]

"'Since I left,' he said, 'all it's done is lose people, lose writers, lose circulation and lose the important thing I had going for that magazine. And that is integrity. I'm ashamed of the magazine and I want nothing to do with it.'

"The Atherton attorney, emphasizing everything he said could be quoted and that he would enjoy nothing better than a good libel suit, bored in: 'I hope Hinckle gets what he deserves and that Scheer gets exposed.'

"Hinckle, he said, was an 'insecure opportunist.' Scheer, who Hinckle had hired 'over my violent protests,' is an 'exploiter' and a 'predator.' Scheer had a saying at one time: 'Join Ramparts and become a celebrity.'

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"Keating talks with a blunt relish for expletives that rivals Hinckle's. Both are Catholic and, as a mutual observer commented, have in them 'the poisons of piety.'

"Keating, aristocratic, wealthy and Stanford-educated, and Hinckle, caustic, flamboyant, a legend as the Foghorn editor at USF who threw typewriters against the wall, called his thrice-weekly paper the 'city's fourth daily' and ran up \$20,000 a year bills, met a year before Ramparts' first issue.

"Enter disagreeing

"Hinckle then was the anchorman for a one-room public relations outfit called Barth, Hughes and Hinckle, Keating recalls:

"His proposal on how to launch Ramparts was so ludicrous, so embarrassing and so pathetic I had to fire him. He wanted to hold a giant cocktail party in New York attended by a two-bit actress called Rita Gam."

"Hinckle then reported for the Chronicle where, despite his colorful shirts, suspenders, Edwardian clothes and a roistering Irish image, he was considered a snob with a scornful disdain for civil rights demonstrators.

"When Ramparts began publishing a five-times-a-year 'quarterly,' Keating brought Hinckle back as a part-time, \$125-a-month promoter. It was a 'gargantuan mistake,' Keating now says.

"Ramparts had 2,551 subscribers in October, 1964, when Hinckle persuaded Keating to publish a monthly and lower the price from \$2 to 75¢. Hinckle left the Chronicle on a leave of absence. Keating realized he was going to run out of money by early the next year, but he felt he couldn't, and wouldn't, try to raise it himself (though staffers tell humorous stories of how Keating spent a day with Steve Allen at poolside at Allen's house in Encino, but couldn't bring himself to ask him for money, and how he went to see Playboy's Hugh Hefner...).

"Crack in the door

"But Keating was no money raiser and so, his fatal flaw coinciding with his fatal mistake, he put Hinckle to the task.

"Even Keating admits Hinckle had an amazing knack for raising money: 'an instinct like a weather vane to point where the money is,' as Keating put it.

"Meanwhile, Mitchell, then a graduate student at Cal, had wandered onto the scene like a lost

lamb. He liked Ramparts, he wanted to invest money and so Hinckle and adman Howard Gossage 'seduced him up in the firehouse,' as Keating put it. They persuaded Mitchell to put in \$100,000, saying it would be used to loosen Keating's control of the magazine. Gossage had been brought into the magazine by Hinckle for promotional help. His spiffy offices on Pacific St. are housed in an old SF firehouse.

"Says Keating: 'We were so close to closing down on Thursday or Friday that, honest to God, if Mitchell's money hadn't come in that weekend we'd have had to close the doors on Monday.

"'They threw a deal at me that was the most vicious thing I have ever seen in my life. Hinckle and the people around him smelled blood. I had an option to see that magazine close on Monday morning or give up vast amounts of money....

"'Hinckle pulled a power play. He said, look, Mitchell is not going to put any money into this magazine so long as you're running it. He said Mitchell thinks you're crazy. The only way he will put money into the magazine is if I run it.'

"And out the other

"Keating, defeated, despairing and staggered at the coup's audacity, was forced to accept Hinckle's terms. His name remained on the masthead as publisher, but his power was reduced and Hinckle and Scheer were left in editorial and financial control of the magazine. Mitchell didn't know it then, but his \$100,000 was used immediately to pay debts and 'we were broke again,' as Keating put it.

"A few months later in February, 1966, Hinckle was planning to move the magazine's offices from

Menlo Park to lower Broadway in San Francisco-- without bothering to consult or notify Keating. Hinckle had arranged the lease, paid the first month's rent and organized the move. The magazine was broke again and Keating, when he discovered Hinckle's plans, angrily called the bank, stopped payment on the check and threatened to fire Hinckle.

"'There was a big scene,' I was told, 'and Keating caved in to Hinckle and from that moment on Keating was out of the operation and Hinckle was in full control.'

"The magazine grew slicker and brighter, ~~with the~~ help of the immensely talented Stermer, and it rocketed to national fame on its major stories: U.S. Catholic involvement in Vietnam, the Vietnam Lobby, the Michigan State University project, CIA involvement with the National Students Association. They were largely produced by Scheer through his New Left contacts and the research he did in 1964 on a Vietnam pamphlet for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara.

"The first to speak

"Scheer had been a politically liberal economics student at the University of California, Berkeley, but was known among radical contemporaries as 'the Red-baiter,' the anti-communist. His attitude began changing after a trip to Cuba in 1960 with a student group. His book, 'Cuba an American Tragedy,' criticized the U.S. for mistaken judgments on Cuba.

"Then, shortly after Diem's overthrow, Scheer went to Vietnam on a Center grant. What he saw in Cuba and Vietnam began to form a pattern for him.

"I realized I had been overly influenced by the Cold War and had underestimated the U.S. as an imperialistic power," he told me. Scheer's Center report was the first major critique of U.S. involvement, formed the basis for many Ramparts esposes and launched him as an articulate New Left spokesman.

"Circulation rocketed past 200,000, but expenses kept pace and Hinckle and his editors had to 'dash about the country,' as he put it in a publisher's note, to keep new capital flowing in. It did come in: from Mitchell (up to \$500,000); from SF advertising executive Louis Honig (at least) \$100,000); from retired inventor Irving Laucks of the Center in Santa Barbara (\$50,000); from the Center's Stanley Sheinbaum and the key source on the MSU story; from Hartford, Conn. businessman Richard Russell and an unpaid Ramparts financial adviser (\$369,580 and some regular profits from a New England shopping center in an enormously complicated real estate deal); from Harvard social science instructor Martin Peretz and Singer sewing machine heiress Ann Farnsworth, later married (\$574,000); from Abigail Rockefeller Nohoc (\$15,000); from Ross socialite June Oppen Degan (\$50,000); from SF businessman and strong McCarthy supporter Henry Dakin (\$10,000); from a mixture of wealthy liberals and radicals in San Francisco, New York, Atlantic City, Los Angeles, Boston.

Calif ✓ "Nothing was madder than the money-raising at Ramparts. Associate publisher James Colaianni raised \$20,000 from an electronics executive on an LA golf course. Hinckle chased a millionaire in Mexico City, but he skipped to Europe. Russell put together headswirling deals to nourish the cash flow.

"When Ramparts printed a daily newspaper during last year's newspaper strike ('absolute madness,' screamed Controller Bob Kaldenbach),

Mitchell was forced to pay astronomical bills out of his own pocket. 'Thank God the strike ended before we did,' Mitchell told me. And through it all Hinckle rolled up tidal waves of expenses ('I was the teat Warren was sucking on,' Mitchell later told me.)

"Free to come and go

"In early 1967, Hinckle was ready to move Keating out of the magazine completely. Keating in effect already had 'given away' the magazine because, at Hinckle's urging, he had transferred \$174,000 of his own stock to key staff members. The breakdown: Hinckle \$100,000; Stermer \$25,000; Scheer \$15,000; then controller Joseph Ippolito \$25,000; Gossage \$4,500, and Gossage's associate in a PR firm G. M. Feigan \$4,500.

"This stock transfer dropped Keating's equity to a fatal 47 per cent. Hinckle also had stacked the Board of Directors with his men ('The Board of Directors was a seduction scene,' Keating said. 'When Hinckle and Scheer had a pigeon, they put him on the board. We don't want your money, we want your love.')

"(Honig was subtly induced to invest \$100,000, Keating said. 'Honig came into Ramparts because of his ego hangup. Hinckle has an instinct for this. He knew how to stroke Honig.

"('Honig had an idea for a novel in which he would set forth his solutions to the Vietnam war. So Hinckle and Scheer brought in an alcoholic, ex-reporter to try to ghost the thing. They spent thousands trying to inflate the ego of Bill ~~Honig~~ Honig.')

"The spiral downward

"Meanwhile, Russell, Peretz and the eastern backers began putting some pressure on Hinckle for financial accounting and budget controls.

Hinckle stiffened and announced to Scheer, Stermer and Colaianni that he was embarking on a new fund-raising trip to raise money to get out from under the Eastern block.

"His friends on the magazine told Keating that Hinckle was moving in, but Keating couldn't believe it. 'Maybe I was too close or maybe I wasn't strong,' he said later. 'I couldn't fight on a certain level.' At least twice in earlier days, he called Hinckle in to his office to fire him, but Hinckle left with more authority. In later days, Keating wasn't permitted to see Hinckle's salary after it went up from \$15,000 a year (to \$25,000) or check mounting expense vouchers.

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"With Hinckle out of town, with Keating about to go, with expenses piling up, Colaianni, promotion manager Don Rothenberg, and then controller ~~Henry Marchman~~ went to Keating to propose a coup of their own; reinstate Keating as publisher in fact, relieve Hinckle of power. Keating agreed and the four set about convincing Russell, a hard-headed businessman and the key director, to go along with the plan. *u*

"Russell called Hinckle, and appraised him of Keating's move. It's them or me, Hinckle told Russell. Russell flew to San Francisco for the critical showdown with Keating and, during a marathon session at the Jack Tar Hotel, listened to the catalog of complaints--mostly financial and administrative--against Hinckle.

"Not a thing you've said isn't true, Russell concluded. But if we lose Hinckle, we lose Ramparts. Hinckle is Ramparts. We feel we can mature Hinckle. Russell wouldn't budge from this position and he said he spoke for a majority of the directors. Keating the founder, \$800,000 investor and holder of 47 per cent of the stock was through.

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"Keating's attorneys drafted a complaint against Ramparts and, after it was shown to Honig and other principals, through attorneys, a settlement was reached with Keating. The terms: Keating was to get \$340,000 in monthly payments over a 10-year period and about \$30,000 in a down payment.

"He's gotten about \$60,000 so far. Significantly Russell personally guaranteed the money, but only if the magazine survives. Obviously, an incentive for Keating to make no waves.

"'Those guys hated Keating,' Hinckle told me. 'They thought he was an idiot and a bumpkin.'

"Retorts Keating: 'Hinckle betrayed me and betrayed everything I believed in...he wouldn't have done it alone.'

"At Hinckle's suggestion, Mitchell later abandoned a thesis he had been writing at the University of Kansas... 'What became of the Aztec aristocracy after the Conquest of Mexico?' --to join Ramparts as senior editor. Soon, Hinckle confronted him with another financial crisis and he plunked in more money.

"The magazine's financial state worsened (after the foolish strike daily, the magazine later went bi-weekly, increased losses to \$34,000 a month) and Hinckle was in New York desperately trying to raise money.

"In January, after the staff had not been paid for weeks, despairing of absentee leadership, Mitchell and the staff demanded that Hinckle return from New York for a board meeting. It was put off, at Hinckle's request, but he finally agreed to be present for a meeting on Jan. 29.

"Hinckle arrived at 11 p.m. and asked the board to accept his resignation because he

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wanted to make an announcement, but not as company officer. His attorney motioned him outside. Hinckle returned and asked to be reinstated.

"'Oh, what's going on, Warren,' Mitchell asked. 'What's the big mystery. OK, you're reinstated.'

"The announcement: if \$400,000 couldn't be raised that evening, Ramparts was out of business, bankrupt. The only merciful thing was to fold the magazine summarily, not allow it to linger as a disgrace to the left.

"For once, Hinckle's move was anti-climactic: He had leaked the story to the New York Times when he was in New York, but the first edition reached the board meeting in San Francisco before Hinckle did.

"Hinckle, the story informed the directors, was going to start a new magazine. Barricades, he had raised \$250,000 to do it with, he was going to take the staff with him.

"Yes, the board would accept Hinckle's resignation from the magazine. No, it wouldn't go bankrupt as Hinckle wanted and clear the decks for his new magazine. Hinckle assembled the staff the next day and gave them the pitch, but almost everybody decided to stay with Ramparts.

"Hinckle's old office now is called 'Warren Hinckle's People's Lounge.' Mitchell, now the publishing boss, says he thought about moving into it, but finally decided against it. 'I don't really believe much in the symbols of power,' he said.

"Then Mitchell, the only man Keating says he feels sorry for, added: 'I'd like to have either

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a central role here or essentially none. I don't want to hang around.'

"The man who didn't have a story until it was worth a page ad in the New York Times would smile at that."

B. Circulation

Source advised that the 1968 circulation trend of "Ramparts" Magazine is as follows:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Subscriptions Mailed</u>
January, 1968	128,899
February, 1968	125,119
March, 1968	(Unavailable)
April, 1968	123,433
May, 1968	133,004
June, 1968	118,720
July, 1968 - 1st issue	89,399
July, 1968 - 2nd issue	83,965
August, 1968 - 1st issue	80,012
August, 1968 - 2nd issue	76,856

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Source advised that subscriptions mailed during the period October through December, 1968, were as follows. Source advised that the dates indicated below do not necessarily coincide with the issue of "Ramparts" during this period when it was published bi-weekly but refer to the completion or job date in connection with the production and distribution of "Ramparts."

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Job Date

October 20, 1968	66,447
October 26, 1968	66,801
November 17, 1968	66,801
November 30, 1968	66,801
December 5, 1968	71,781
December 14, 1968	71,781
December 20, 1968	67,772
December 30, 1968	67,772

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1/29/69

"Ramparts" in compliance with postal regulations, published a statement of ownership, management and circulation dated October 11, 1968. This statement contained the following statistics on circulation and distribution:

<u>Extent and Nature of Circulation</u>	<u>Average Number Copies each issue during preceding 12 months</u>	<u>Actual Number of Copies of single issue published nearest to filing date</u>
A. Total Number Copies Printed (Net Press Run) 266,267	266,267	256,000
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	75,191	88,200-est.
2. Mail subscrip- tions	105,687	74,505
C. Total Paid Circulation	180,878	162,705

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<u>Extent and Nature of Circulation</u>	<u>Average Number Copies each issue during preceding 12 months</u>	<u>Actual Number of Copies of single issue published nearest to filing date</u>
D. Free Distribu- tion (including samples) by mail, carrier or other means	2,351	2,351
E. Total distribu- tion (Sum of C and D)	183,229	165,056
F. Office use, left- over, unaccounted, or spoiled after printing	83,038	90,944
G. Total (Sum of E & F--should equal net press run shown in A)	266,267	256,000

C. Funds

Financial History

The "San Francisco Bay Guardian," a weekly newspaper of general circulation in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area in its issue of March 27, 1969, contained an article captioned, "Ramparts-Revolution With Limousine Service" by IVAN SHARPE, which read in its first part as follows: W

"Frederick C. Mitchell, 29-year-old publisher of Ramparts, is somberly reflecting on the expenses run up by the magazine's former president and editorial director, Warren Hinckle. W

"'Big, big,' he says softly. His handsome, boyish face has the look of a betrayed child. W

"He leans back slowly, fingers drumming on his creaking chair, which suddenly sounds loud in his tiny, cluttered office. The window is fiercely bright with sunlight and the murmur W

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of cars and tourists from nearby Fisher-
man's Wharf floats through clearly.

"Then he looks up and a light smile
instantly wipes aside the pensive look.
'Are those what I think they are?' he asks
eagerly.

"He glances happily at the green slip
handed to him by a casually-dressed employee
who has walked in. It is a payroll check for
\$318.55. The publisher is like a small boy who
has just been given a raise in his pocket
money.

"Mitchell, unassuming, likable university
professor who sunk an inheritance from his
grandfather of nearly half a million dollars
into Ramparts, was getting his first salary
check in four months.

"Ramparts has been in desperate financial
trouble before. Once in 1965 it came within
one day of having to close its doors. Mitchell's
first \$100,000 saved it then. He may save it
again, but not this time with his money.
Mitchell had never invested more than \$20 before
Ramparts, but he plunged his inherited fortune
into the magazine.

"Ramparts is in voluntary bankruptcy and
the Federal Court has agreed to a financial
reorganization that would keep its numerous
creditors--from Dr. Spock at \$50 to Eldridge
Cleaver at \$805 to PT&T at \$19,000--from
immediately trying to collect debts of nearly
\$2 million.

"The new Ramparts may look no different
(except for fewer expensive, full-color pages),
its tongue will be, if anything, more biting (the
next issue will have an expose of CIA infiltration
into black capitalism), its emphasis will be
less Hincklish sensational muckracking brand-
ished in New York Times ads, more Robert
Scheerish political analysis.

"But inside the magazine's airy, \$1400-a-month, bayside suite at 495 Beach St., a barer bones look will prevail. Mitchell has slashed the staff from 25 to 16, ruthlessly halved salaries (Scheer's pay is cut from \$15,000 to \$10,000) and drastically pared expenses.

"No more sumptuous hotel suites (in debts alone: Chicago's Ambassador, \$2,536, for the convention; New York's Regency, \$824, St. Regis Sheraton, \$1,267, Hilton \$121; Washington's Sheraton Carlton, \$258, and Shoreham, \$532; LA's Statler Hilton, \$602). No more limousine service for executives (as Hinckle had in New York). No more big restaurant tabs (debts: Andre's, \$144; Vanessi's, \$504).

"No more wives traveling first class with husbands (as did the Hinckles and the Scheers). No more big promotion parties in New York (thousands at the Algonquin alone).

"Hinckle in 1968 raised \$20,000 or so, I was told, but his expense account for a 30-day period was bigger than that. Said former publisher Ed Keating, 'Check the expense accounts of Scheer and Hinckle for years 1965-1968 and you will see the most diabolic, systematic bloodletting...Bob Scheer and his wife traveling on a deal, something like \$2,500 to \$5,000 to be paid back at \$25 a month on a promissory note. It's ridiculous.'

"Hinckle's lavish parties and soaring expenses (perhaps \$250,000 in three years, but nobody seems to know for certain) were regarded suspiciously by many staff members and by readers following Che Guevara in the jungles and black militants in the ghettos."

Petition in Bankruptcy Under
Chapter 11 of National Bankruptcy Act

The March 7, 1969, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle," a daily newspaper of general circulation, contained

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an article captioned, "Ramparts Bravely Looks Ahead," which read in its entirety as follows:

"Ramparts Magazine is \$5,800,000 in debt but will keep publishing, its officers told a bankruptcy court here yesterday.

"It hopes to borrow \$115,000 from new investors and anticipates getting \$65,000 from its readers in advance renewals, officers said.

"With this money, plus \$75,000 from Random House and Bantam Books as advance money, the magazine believes it will have \$206,000 at the end of June to start paying off its debts.

"Lynn Gillard, the bankruptcy referee, agreed the company would not have to post a bond. Just the cost of that would cause the magazine to fold, Publisher Frederick C. Mitchell said.

"So it will remain in operation and its creditors are forestalled from taking any court action to collect.

"Debts, the company said in a statement of affairs, are \$5,864,920 while its assets are only \$44,507.

"Secured debts amount to \$4,246,747. The magazine owes the Federal government \$51,635 in taxes, the state \$1481 in taxes and it owes back wages to employees amounting to \$27,562.

"Among the unsecured debts, amounting to \$1,537,493, are \$499,451 owed to Mitchell, the publisher, and \$81,282 owed Edward Keating, founder and publisher when the magazine was launched in September, 1961 as the Layman's Press."

The records of the Clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, contained

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a Statement of Affairs and Schedules submitted by "Ramparts" Magazine, Inc., which had petitioned for a voluntary arrangement in bankruptcy under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act, which was filed on March 4, 1969. This petition contained the following schedules and statements concerning the financial operations of "Ramparts."

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Budget Projection 1969-70

Income

Advertising (Note 1)	170,000
Newsstands (Note 2)	336,000
Subscriptions (Note 3)	367,000*
List Rental	96,000
Book Department (Note 4)	150,000
Other	<u>20,000</u>

Total 1,139,000

Expense

Production (Note 6)	216,000
Newsstand Distribution (Note 7)	65,000
Subscription Fulfillment (Note 8)	168,000
Advertising Selling (Note 9)	34,000
Editorial (Note 10)	219,000
Book Department (Note 4)	72,000
General & Administrative (Note 11)	<u>210,000</u>

Total 984,000

Profit or (Loss) \$155,000

Average Circulation

Subscribers (Note 5)	60,000
Newsstand	<u>70,000</u>

Total 130,000

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Budget Notes

1. Advertising Income estimate is based on 16 pages per issue at \$800 per page (both figures are closely comparable to recent experience as a bi-weekly). Longer newsstand exposure should permit us to sustain our per-page price.
2. Newsstand Sales of 70,000 copies assume a 16% increase over bi-weekly sales due to longer newsstand exposure and promotional efforts. 70,000 sales at 40¢ per copy at 12 issues per year provides \$336,000 in annual income
3. Subscription Income is estimated on a cash basis as follows:
Full subscriber rate: 12 issues for \$8.50 (from 24 issues for \$15)
Introductory sub. rates: Insert cards, 8 issues for \$3.87
Agency orders, 8 issues for \$3.87, 15% remit (these prices are unchanged)

Sources of Income: New Business	
"White Mail" 6000 orders	\$ 36,000
Insert cards 18,000 orders	72,000
Agency 12,000 orders	9,000
	<u>117,000</u>
Renewal business (30-40%)	<u>161,000</u>
Total subscription income	<u>\$278,000</u>

For profit and loss calculations, subscription income is recorded on an accrual basis. For 1969-70 the computation is as follows:

Average Circulation per issue	60,000
Number of issues per year	x 12
Total issues serviced	<u>720,000</u>
Average revenue per issue	x 52¢
Income for the year	<u>\$367,000</u>

4. Book Department - Eighteen titles per year, \$1000 fee per title, plus average advance of \$7000 per title, of which \$4000 is passed on to authors (expense side of this budget). This is a minimal program which merely continues at a low level the present agenting arrangement.
5. Circulation. An average subscriber circulation of 60,000 copies per issue can be maintained, without direct mail promotion, from new orders obtained through insert cards, "white mail", and agency orders. While circulation growth can be obtained by direct mail promotions, large cash outlays are required and our recent experience teaches us not to depend on cash available for such promotions.
6. Production economies will be achieved by limited color availability to either 4 or 8 pages of color (cover and inside)

This will reduce printing costs by some 40%, color separations by 75%. With the resumption of monthly publication, and a new discipline in adhering to deadlines, printer overtime can be largely eliminated.

7. Shipping Newsstand Copies by air freight has doubled our distribution costs. This can be eliminated with monthly publication and respect for deadlines.
8. Fulfillment (including subscription promotion) costs cannot be reduced on a per-subscriber basis. The decision to stabilize for now the size of the subscriber list eliminates the need for direct mail subscriber promotions budgeted for approximately \$400,000 previously.
9. The Sales staff will be compensated on a straight commission basis (10-15%) rather than salary.
10. Editorial staff has been cut in half and salaries reduced, netting a saving of \$119,000 per year - a cut of 50%. This is possible due to new management and the wider range of options afforded by the present crisis. Sinecures have been abolished, part-time staff eliminated, and conversion of some salaried employees to an intermittent employment status paid by the hour.
11. Staff reductions and salary cuts will save \$53,000. Reduced staff and closer control will yield 40% savings in telephone costs. Most consultants and auditing fees can be eliminated, as can fund raising and interests if this is to be a self-financed corporation.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES, February 1969

Income

Newsstand:

Estimated sale: 50% x 117,000
@39.5¢ per copy sold

\$23,107.50

Subscription:

Deferred liability reduced
by 68,000 copies @51.6¢

35,088.00

Bookstore magazine sales:

Estimated sale: 50% x 8200 @ 35¢

1,435.00

Advertising, as billed:

18,513.00

List Rentals, as billed:

5,820.00

Total Income

\$83,963.50

Expense*

Production (printing, composition)

\$30,824.00

Subscriptions (computer house, postage, supplies)

9,378.13

Newsstand distribution (freight, rebates, etc.--estimated)

3,933.00

Advertising selling

516.00

Editorial (manuscripts, art, etc.)

6,532.54

General (rent, taxes, legal, office expense, list rental costs, etc.)

13,740.62

Total Expense

\$64,924.29

Net Income, February 1969

\$19,039.21

*Note: salaries have been distributed throughout all expense categories.

Cash flow Feb 1969

H/R	13,800	4800	Payroll
Loan	25,000	1500	Payroll secured note
H/R	2600	8300	Deposit PTST
in hand	10,000	2600	Salary
subscription	16,200	2300	Cash advance supplies
fund		3500	other

Business 20 months. Commenced Feb 15, 1969

2/1/69

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Cash Flow - February

	<u>Feb 3-7</u>	<u>Feb 10-14</u>	<u>Feb 17-21</u>	<u>Feb 24-28</u>
Receipts				
Cash On Hand, Feb 1	12,000			
List Rental	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Sale of Tax Loss Notes		10,000		
Legal Fees Advanced		2,000	1,000	
Advertising	3,000	3,000	7,000	7,000
Subscriptions (secured)	-	-	-	-
Newsstand (secured)	-	-	-	-
Total	<u>19,000</u>	<u>7,000</u>	<u>10,000</u>	<u>9,000</u>
Disbursements				
Legal Fees	2,000	2,000	1,000	
Production Cost Adv.	4,000	14,000	8,000	
Payroll-Current		10,000		10,000
Payroll-Accrued	15,000	15,000	15,000	
Early Renewal Mailing		8,000		
Other Operating Costs	5,000	10,000	13,000	10,000
Total	<u>26,000</u>	<u>59,000</u>	<u>37,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>
Cash (Need)	(7,000)	(42,000)	(27,000)	(11,000)

③

MONTHLY BUDGET COMPARISON

Month of March 1969

	<u>Bi-weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>Note</u>
Income				
Advertising	\$ 25,000	\$ 13,000	-\$ 12,000	1
Newsstands and Bookstores	70,000	28,000	- 42,000	2
Subscriptions	91,000	31,000	- 60,000	3
List Rental	1,000	8,000	+ 7,000	4
Other	2,000	2,000	-	
Book Department - net	-	6,000	+ 6,000	
Total	<u>\$189,000</u>	<u>\$ 88,000</u>	<u>-\$101,000</u>	
Expenses				
Production	\$65,000	\$ 18,000	-\$47,000	5
Newsstand Distribution	7,000	2,000	- 5,000	6
Subscription Fulfillment	17,000	14,000	- 3,000	7
Subscription Promotion	42,000	-	- 42,000	8
Newsstand Sales Promotion	4,000	3,000	- 1,000	
Advertising Selling	3,000	3,000	-	
Editorial	35,000	18,000	- 17,000	9
General and Administrative	<u>45,000</u>	<u>30,000</u>	<u>- 15,000</u>	10
	218,000	88,000	-130,000	
Profit or Loss on Operations	(29,000)	-	29,000	
Circulation - copies per month				
Subscribers	175,000	60,000	-115,000	
Newsstands	<u>180,000</u>	<u>60,000</u>	<u>-120,000</u>	
	355,000	120,000	-235,000	

NOTES TO MONTHLY BUDGET COMPARISON

- 1) Advertising - proportional reduction of revenues resulting from monthly instead of bi-weekly publication.
- 2) Newsstands and Bookstores - Change in publication frequency and a less optimistic projection of growth in copies consigned.
- 3) Subscriptions - Stabilization of subscriber list at present level (no promotion), and change in publication frequency.
- 4) List Rental - Estimate in prior budget was overly conservative. The present financial crisis has allowed list rental orders to backlog.
- 5) Production expenses - Reduction of color availability change in frequency, and staff reduction of 2 persons.
- 6) Newsstand Distribution - Elimination of airfreighting and change in frequency.
- 7) Subscription Fulfillment - Per subscriber costs remain unchanged, list in new projection does not grow as in prior budget.
- 8) Subscription Promotion - No promotion is budgeted because list size can be maintained under monthly publication without this expense.
- 9) Editorial - Sharp reductions in editorial staff amounting to a \$7,000 decrease in payroll with a similar cut in editorial travel expenses, along with elimination of the Washington, D. C. bureau.

10) <u>General & Administrative</u>	<u>Savings</u>
Salaries were \$8,000, cut to \$4,000	\$ 4,000
Telephone: restricted usage and smaller staff will cut telephone costs by 40%, from \$7,500 to \$4,500	3,500
Payroll taxes, now \$1,000 monthly, will be halved	500
Closing of New York Office	1,500
Interest expense will be eliminated	5,500
Elimination of fund raising travel	1,000
Increase in List Rental Cost	<u>(1,000)</u>
 Total G & A Savings	 <u>\$15,000</u>

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INCORPORATED (In proceedings under Chapter XI of the Bankruptcy Act)

Monthly Cash Flow Projection March through June, 1969

Receipts:	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Subscription revenues, regular	\$ 23,000	\$ 23,000	\$ 23,000	\$ 23,000	\$ 92,000
special mailings		15,000	25,000	25,000	65,000
Advertising revenue collections	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	48,000
Circulation revenue collections	30,000	12,000	18,000	18,000	78,000
Interest, notes, collections	40,000		50,000		90,000
Book publishing advances		25,000	15,000	10,000	50,000
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL: Operating Receipts:	\$ <u>105,000</u>	\$ <u>87,000</u>	\$ <u>143,000</u>	\$ <u>88,000</u>	\$ <u>423,000</u>
Disbursements:					
Expenditures, as budgeted	\$ 79,000	\$ 79,000	\$ 79,000	\$ 79,000	\$ 316,000
Special subscriber mailings	16,000				16,000
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
TOTAL: Operating Disbursements:	\$ <u>95,000</u>	\$ <u>79,000</u>	\$ <u>79,000</u>	\$ <u>79,000</u>	\$ <u>332,000</u>
Cash Available, from Operations:	\$ 10,000	\$ 8,000	\$ 64,000	\$ 9,000	\$ 91,000
New Investment Funds committed:	<u>40,000</u>	<u>55,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>		<u>115,000</u>
TOTAL: Cash on hand, for the month:	\$ <u>50,000</u>	\$ <u>63,000</u>	\$ <u>84,000</u>	\$ <u>9,000</u>	\$ <u>206,000</u>
TOTAL: Cash on hand, cumulative:*	\$ <u>50,000</u>	\$ <u>113,000</u>	\$ <u>197,000</u>	\$ <u>206,000</u>	\$ <u>206,000</u>

NB:*Excluded from projected disbursements above are \$ 80,000 in priority wage and other claims to be paid prior to confirmation of a Plan of Arrangement

Rainbow House Commitments: .. 20,000
Bantam Books Commitments: 50,000 } Payable over next four months

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Cash Flow Projection
February-June 1969

	<u>February</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Five Month Total</u>
Receipts						
Subscription	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	23,000	115,000
Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Advertising	20,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	68,000
List Rental Income	10,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	55,000
Special Early Renewal-Sub	-	30,000	30,000	-	-	60,000
Expire Mailing	-	-	17,000	-	-	17,000
Book Sales	-	10,000	10,000	10,000	15,000	45,000
Real Estate Income	10,000	-	-	50,000	30,000	90,000
Cash Available 2/1/69	15,000	-	-	-	-	15,000
Total	115,000	110,000	128,000	126,000	107,000	586,000
Disbursements						
Operating Budget	84,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	82,000	412,000
Legal Fees	5,000	5,000	5,000	-	-	15,000
Pmt to Secured Creditors						
-Subscription Income	23,000	15,000	-	-	-	38,000
-Newsstand Income	37,000	20,000	21,000	21,000	22,000	121,000
Early Renewal Mailing	8,000	-	-	-	-	8,000
Expire Mailing	-	12,000	-	-	-	12,000
Accrued Payrolls & Taxes	45,000	-	50,000	-	-	95,000
Total	202,000	134,000	158,000	103,000	104,000	701,000
Cash Need-This Month	(87,000)	(24,000)	(30,000)	23,000	3,000	(115,000)

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EJO/cab

Financial Supporters

The above referred to bankruptcy records of "Ramparts" contained a list of loans which had been repaid during the period February through December, 1968, as follows:

Ramparts

#10 -- REPAYMENTS OF LOANS, FEBRUARY TO DECEMBER, 1968

Amount	Month (1968)
\$3,000.00	February
\$1,000.00	February
\$3,000.00	May-September
\$3800.00	September
\$25,000.00	May
\$14,000.00	February-December
\$19,016.95	February-December
\$2,300.00	May
\$#,500.00	July-September
\$1,000.00	February
\$15,000.00	May
\$500.00	October
\$5,000.00	June

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Western Media Corp.
(Attn: [REDACTED])

#10 -- REPAYMENTS OF LOANS, FEBRUARY TO DECEMBER, 1968

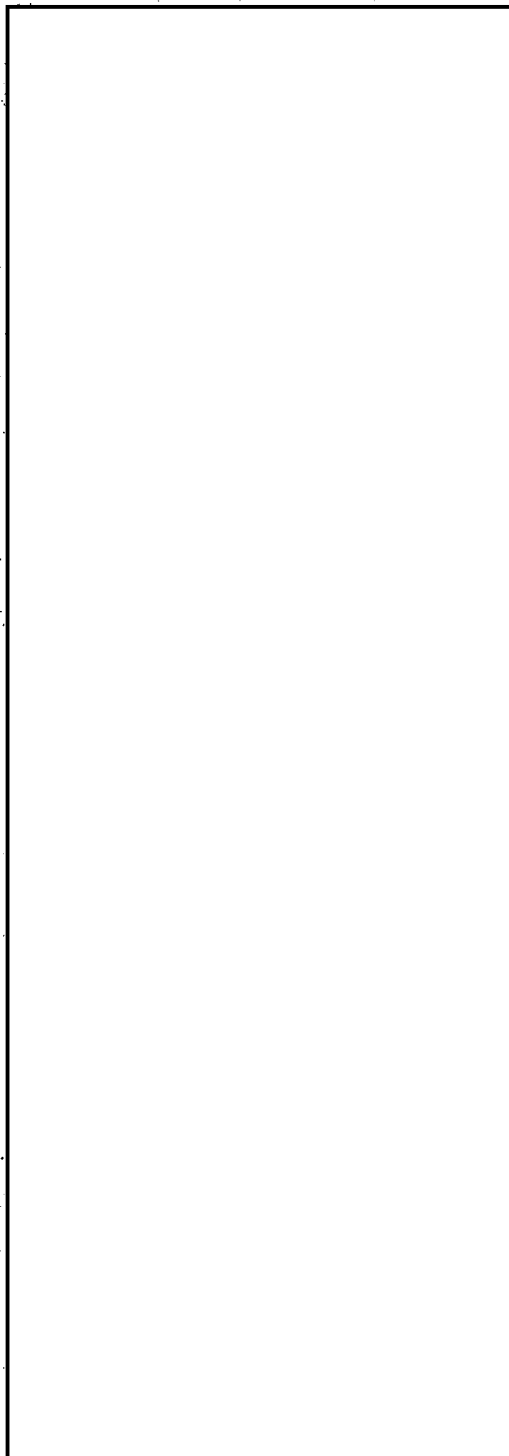
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[REDACTED]	\$4,000.00	March
[REDACTED]	\$11,876.43	February
[REDACTED]	\$5,000.00	March-April
[REDACTED]	\$10,000.00	April
[REDACTED]	\$9,697.48	June
[REDACTED]	\$2,859.49	November-December (And January, 1969)
LOUIS B. MONTY DIRECTOR OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE		
[REDACTED]	\$1,687.19	June-October
[REDACTED]	\$1,887.19	June-July
RICHARD RUSSELL Richard A. Russell DIRECTOR OF SUBJECT MAGAZINE		
[REDACTED]	\$14,100.00	June-September
[REDACTED]	\$5,000.00	February-June
Writers' Assistance Institute 495 Beach St. San Francisco, Cal.	\$40,000.00	February-June
Sugar Lo Corn. (Attn: [REDACTED])		
[REDACTED]	\$10,000.00	February
Union Bank Wilshire Blve & Beverly Dr. Beverly Hills, Cal.	\$5047.46	February
[REDACTED]	\$5,000.00	February-May
[REDACTED]	\$2,000.00	July
First Western Bank 235 Montgomery St. San Francisco, Cal.	\$20,000.00	December
San Francisco Mime Troupe 924 Howard St.	\$5,000.00	

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The bankruptcy records referred to above
contained a list of unsecured creditors as follows: 11

UNSECURED CREDITORS--NOTEHOLDERS



\$25,000.00

14

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2,000.00

10,000.00

19,000.00*

500.00

6,500.00

1,200.00

10,000.00

25,000.00

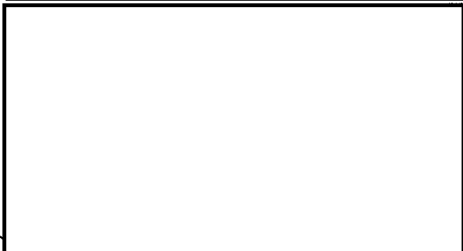
3,000.00

5,000.00

37

1,000.00

35,000.00



UNSECURED CREDITORS--NOTEHOLDERS (2)

[Redacted]

\$1,000.00

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Institute for Policy Studies
(Attn: [Redacted])

[Redacted]

2,200.00

[Redacted]

5,000.00

10,000.00

81,282.04

8,200.00

25,000.00

500.00


10,000.00

499,451.17*

50,000.00*

6,500.00

UNSECURED CREDITORS--NOTEHOLDERS (3)


\$2,500.00

10,000.00

106,350.00*

2,500.00

5,000.00

5,000.00

9,500.00

2,000.00

Western Media Corp.

(Attn: 


30,000.00

\$1,015,183.17

* Security agreements exist covering all or some portions of amounts so indicated. Amount shown is entire note less portion which is secured without doubt, or under the best estimate of debtor.

II. OFFICERS, DIRECTORS,
AND EXECUTIVES

The records of the Clerk of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California contained the following list of officers, directors and executives filed by "Ramparts" during its bankruptcy proceedings:

~~WARREN HINCKLE, III~~ 05 SUBJECT MAGAZINE
~~FORMER~~ President, Director, Editorial Director
(Resigned January 30, 1969)
263 Castro Street
San Francisco, California 94114

~~ROBERT J. KALDENBACH~~ BOB KALDENBACH
Controller, Director, Secretary-Treasurer
(Now President) 05 SUBJECT MAGAZINE
1843 Capistrano,
Berkeley, California 94707

ROBERT SCHEER SI
Editor-in-Chief, Director, Vice President
6468 Benvenue,
Oakland, California 94618

~~DUGALD R. STERMER~~ DUGALD STERMER
Art Director, Director, Vice President 05 SUBJECT MAGAZINE
209 Meda Court
Mill Valley, California 94941

KANSAS ~~FREDERICK C. MITCHELL~~ 05 SUBJECT MAGAZINE
Publisher, Director
3637 Washington Street
San Francisco, California 94118

APPROX-1940

STEPHEN V. ~~ROBINSON~~
Business Manager, Assistant Secretary
(Now Secretary-Treasurer) 05 SUBJECT MAGAZINE
2263 1/2 Sacramento Street
San Francisco, California 94115

DAVID ~~KOLODNEY~~
Managing Editor 05 SUBJECT MAGAZINE
503 Forest
Oakland, California 94618

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DAVID ~~X~~HOROWITZ
Book Department Editor OSS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
1191 Glen
Berkeley, California 94708

(U) PETER ~~X~~COLLIER
Senior Editor OSS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
6107 Harwood
Oakland, California 94618

LOUIS B. HONIG
Director
1275 Columbus Street
San Francisco, California 94133

GERALD ~~X~~FEIGAN
Director OSS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
1515 Scott Street
San Francisco, California 94115

STANLEY ~~X~~SHEINBAUM
Director OSS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
Center for the Study of Democratic
Institutions.
Santa Barbara, California 93102

MARTIN ~~X~~PERETZ
Director OSS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
20 Larchwood Road
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

RICHARD A. RUSSELL
Director
45 Kirkwood Road
West Hartford, Connecticut 06107

HOWARD ~~X~~GOSSAGE
Director OSS SUBJECT MAGAZINE
451 Pacific Avenue
San Francisco, California 94133

III. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

Political Activities

[REDACTED]

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8/22/68

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

On August 23, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Trans World Airlines (TWA), John F. Kennedy Airport, New York, advised TWA records reflect one [REDACTED] departed John F. Kennedy Airport on [REDACTED]. He stated the records reflect [REDACTED] at TWA's office at John F. Kennedy Airport [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] He further stated the date of the purchase and the identity of the person making the purchase are not known. U

Further, he advised [REDACTED] ticket issued by TWA at John F. Kennedy Airport, was valid for travel from [REDACTED]. The return date and flight were both left open by [REDACTED] and no return reservation [REDACTED] was made. The cost of the ticket was \$483.60. U

On August 23, 1968, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] TWA, San Francisco, advised that on August 22, 1968, the Fugazi Travel Agency, 1 Columbus Drive, San Francisco, contacted TWA and requested a prepaid ticket

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[redacted]
[redacted] further advised TWA, San Francisco, booked space as requested and was advised by TWA New York that the ticket was picked up and [redacted]
[redacted]

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[redacted] stated TWA, San Francisco, does not have any further information regarding the above mentioned itinerary or the identity of the purchaser of the miscellaneous charge order as TWA will bill the Fugazi Travel Service in this regard. ✓

The records of the Fugazi Travel Service, 1 Columbia Avenue, San Francisco, reflect the prepaid ticket referred to above for [redacted] was requested by [redacted]
[redacted]

cah's

SF T-5
8/26/68

At an assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements sponsored by Columbia University Strike Committee and Columbia University SDS, which was held on September 23, 1968, in New York City, BERNADINE DOHRN, National Educational or Inter-organizational Secretary of SDS, spoke and stated she returned from Europe three days ago. She also stated she and 27 other American student leaders met in Budapest, Hungary with five members of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. ✓

SF T-6
9/23/68

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C. newspaper, issue of September 21, 1968, contains an item captioned, "U.S. War Foes Meet with Hanoi Group," which states that a group of 28 American war foes travelled to

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Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and National Liberation Front to discuss strategy on United States campuses. D

According to the above article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, September 5 - 9, 1968, by DAVID DELLINGER, Head of National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. J

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMCEWV) was an ad hoc organization composed of several anti-Vietnam war and peace groups which organized mass rallies and marches in New York and San Francisco on April 15, 1967, to protest United States involvement in the Vietnam war. The SMCEWV is now known as the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMCEWV). J

According to the above article, VERNONE GRIZZARD, age 24, former national vice president of Students for a Democratic Society was one of the above travel group and had visited Hanoi earlier to bring back three pilots released by North Vietnam. As outlined by GRIZZARD, Budapest meetings centered on Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest and furthering draft unrest among GI's. GRIZZARD said the North Vietnamese gave no directions for activities in the United States, but were pleased and interested in "our" plans. J

According to the article, the North Vietnamese were told of plans for a National GI week just before the November 5, 1968, elections, when ministers will be asked to preach anti-war sermons. The article also stated that "they" were also to try to stir up GI's in coffee houses. J

At a meeting of the San Francisco Newsreel in San Francisco on October 16, 1968. CALIF

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a group at the University of California at Santa Cruz. This group had contacted "Ramparts" Magazine with information that they were planning disruptive activities at the University of California (UC) at Santa Cruz. [redacted]

[redacted] whom he did not further identify, [redacted]

[redacted] At the Newsreel meeting that night, [redacted] reported that the group liked the film and had planned a confrontation with the Board of Regents who were meeting at Santa Cruz on October 17, 1968. U

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10/18/68

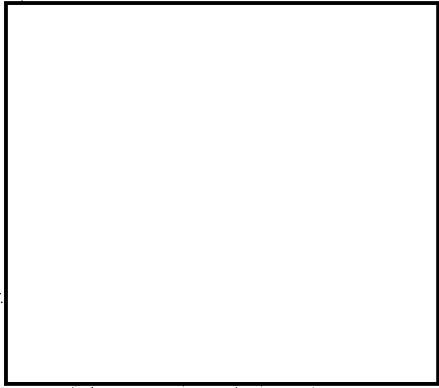
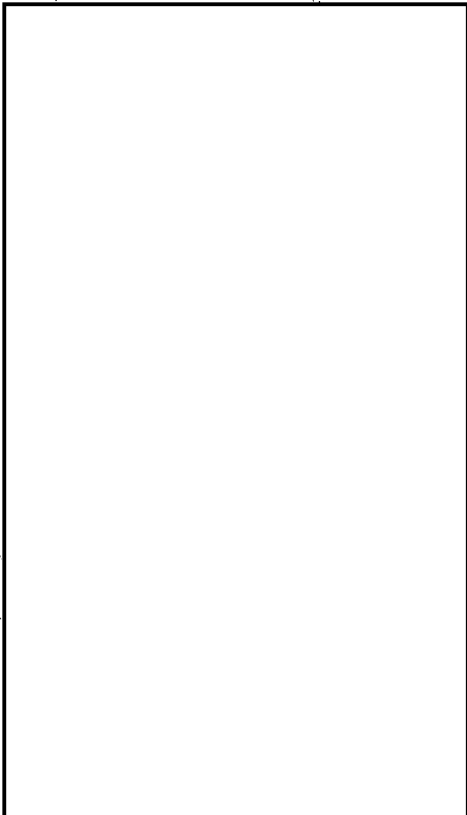
In a brochure distributed by San Francisco Newsreel in September, 1968, it described their group as a co-op of radical film makers in the San Francisco Bay Area, which made and distributed films concerning events of importance to social change in this country, which national and local news media either distort or ignore. U

At a meeting of the San Francisco Newsreel on November 6, 1968, [redacted]

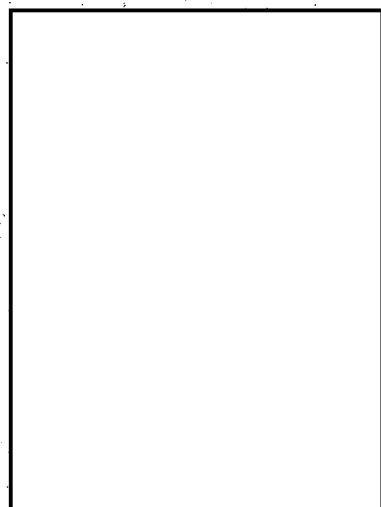
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IPPOLITO, JOSEPH



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1.
"GUARDIAN," FORMERLY KNOWN AS "NATIONAL GUARDIAN";
WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. ...'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly...it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

The February 3, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian."

The February 10, 1968, issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East Fourth Street, New York City, New York.

The February 12, 1968, issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement'." This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a radical movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists."

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stating that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 22 concerning the American Labor Party:

- "1. 'For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control'.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 78.)
- "2. 'Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the *** American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label'.
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

April 18, 1969

Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference San Francisco report of SA EDWARD J.
O'FLYNN, dated 4/18/69.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 6/6/69

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C;
REGISTRATION ACT

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letter-head memorandum reporting on the bankruptcy status of "Ramparts" Magazine.

EX-106L INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/88 BY *uc*

REC 11 100-445393-151

11 ENCLOSURE

12 JUN 12 1969

2 - Bureau (Encs. 11)(RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/sms #11
(3)

AGENCY
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW.
HOW FORW.
BY

ACSI; PSI; DAI; RAO/ISD
IRS (By Liaison)
4/11/69 [Signature]

TRD/gdw

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M

Per _____

70 JUN 24 1969 Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 6, 1969

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED

The files of the Federal Bankruptcy Court, San Francisco, California, were reviewed on June 5, 1969, and reflected that an order was granted by the referee on May 29, 1969, which confirmed a Plan of Arrangement which had been duly accepted by a majority of creditors in all classes whose claims have been proved or allowed. Creditors will receive from one to five per cent of their claim depending upon the classification or priority of their claims.

LYNN GUILLIARD, Referee in Bankruptcy, advised on June 5, 1969, that contrary to reports in the press, "Ramparts" was not discharged from bankruptcy, but that the court shall retain jurisdiction until the final allowance or disallowance of all claims affected by this arrangement.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 10/31/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-459) (P*)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Rerep of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 4/18/69 at
San Francisco and airtel with enclosed LHM dated 6/6/69

Investigation of captioned publication has been conducted in the past under the Registration Act to determine possible foreign influence and financing. Extensive checking on sources of income during the past three years of deficit operations failed to discover foreign subsidation. The results of this investigation was confirmed by a review of bankruptcy records which disclosed complete financial records.

The records of the Mailing Requirements Section of the U. S. Post Office disclosed that the October, 1969 issue had a decline to 122,418 in total paid circulation from the 162,705 stated in October, 1968 and a decrease in total number of copies printed to 200,000 from 256,000 during the same period.

A copy of "Ramparts" is being sent monthly to the Research-Satellite Section. UACB, San Francisco will place this case in pending inactive status and re-evaluate the nature of its activity periodically to determine if an active investigation is warranted.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO:rvn
(3)

ST-115

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

9 NOV 4 1969

[signature]
INT. [signature]

Let 7:30 SAC, SF
11/14/69
TPO: [signature]

b6
b7c

1 - Mr. T. P. Druken

SAC, ^{EX-116} San Francisco (157-459)

Director, FBI (100-445393) - 154
REC-127

11/18/69

1-1 NN 11-13-69
let. WBS 11-25-69
Stat. Jones

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

Reurlet 10/31/69.

The Bureau does not concur with your recommendation contained in relet relative to placing captioned matter in a pending inactive status, and you are instructed to immediately prepare a report containing all pertinent information developed since the submission of your last report.

It is to be noted that

b6
b7C

You are reminded that in order for the Bureau to carry out its responsibilities in disseminating timely information concerning the anarchistic activities of the New Left, and in view of the dependence of other agencies on our coverage, it is extremely important that the activities of groups involved in such matters be vigorously pursued.

The importance of thoroughly investigating and developing information concerning captioned matter cannot be overemphasized and the Bureau will be closely following this matter.

TPD:mst
(4) *mst*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY *hri*

NOTE:

Ramparts, self-described an an "independent, liberal magazine of dissent" is published at San Francisco, California. In the recent past, it has encountered financial difficulties

San Francisco is being instructed to continue its investigation in captioned matter.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

58 NOV 19 1969

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*ms
TWO*

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

Director, FBI (100-415762)

7/18/69

- 1 - Miss A. M. Butler
- 1 - Publications Subscription Control Folder

**PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY
RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION**

You are authorized to arrange discreetly for a one-year subscription to the magazine "Ramparts" for the use of the Bureau. The address given for the magazine is Ramparts Magazine, Inc., 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, California, and the yearly subscription price is listed as \$15. Issues of the magazine should be forwarded on a regular, current basis marked to the attention of the Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. The Bureau desires that you also obtain one copy each of 1969 issues of the magazine printed to date.

Instructions set out in the Manual of Rules and Regulations, Part II, Section 6, H, 4, Page 5a, should be followed in handling this subscription.

Advise Bureau thirty days prior to 1970 expiration of subscription to allow time to consider renewal.

- 1 - Internal Security Section (Route through for review)
- 1 - Nationalities Intelligence Section (Route through for review)
- 1 - Mr. M. F. Row, 6221 IB
- 1 - 100-445393 (Ramparts)

AMB:jls
(12)

NOTE:

Subscription requested by SA T.P.Druken, Internal Security, Number One Man A.J.Decker, Nationalities Intelligence, Section Chief A.W.Gray, SA R.S.Garner, and SA J.E.Keating, Research-Satellite Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. "Ramparts," edited by Robert Scheer, a Key Activist in the New Left movement, is a militant publication of the New Left movement dealing generally with student revolutionary activity throughout the world. "Ramparts" is useful in keeping abreast of the nefarious activities of the various groups composing the New Left, and it affords valuable background information for articles, speeches, lectures, and special research projects. After extensive routing, magazine will be filed in Publications

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY 987 JUL 22 1969

DUPLICATE

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 11/24/69

FROM : SAC, New Haven (97-159) (C)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
REGISTRATION ACT

For the information of the Bureau by letter dated 3/7/69 the San Francisco Office advised "Ramparts" Magazine had filed a petition declaring itself in voluntary bankruptcy and requested a reorganization under the provisions of Chapter XI of the National Bankruptcy. San Francisco further advised New Haven

In view of above, New Haven is taking no further action in this matter pending receipt of additional information from the San Francisco Office.

1-cc 924 (920)
2-Bureau (RM)
1-New Haven
JAD/lrf
(3)

REC-41

EX 110

100-445393-155

22 NOV 25 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

5 DEC 5 1969

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 12/24/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/11-12/22/69
TITLE OF CASE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		REPORT MADE BY EDWARD J. O'FLYNN	TYPED BY mb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C; RA	

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 4/18/69, at San Francisco.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified confidential as data furnished by SF T-1 through SF T-3, if disclosed, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE **1/2/80** BY **huc**

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED

☐ NONE

ACQUIT-
TALS

CASE HAS BEEN

PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐
PENDING PROSECUTION
OVER SIX MONTHS ☐

APPROVED **CEB: L/V** SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

1 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)

3 - San Francisco (157-169)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-445393-156

17 DEC 29 1969

REC-22

NO DISSEMINATION

SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS APPLY

SEE TOP SERIAL

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	RAA/ISO; Sec. Serv; ADSP; IRS
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	
How Fwd.	1/5/70 1/7/70
By	(By Linson)

INT. SEC.

56 JAN 13 1970

COVER PAGE

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

LEAD:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Follow activities of
subject publication and submit report in June, 1970.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[Redacted]

SF T-2 is

[Redacted]

SF T-3 is

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to:

Report of: EDWARD J. O'FLYNN
Date: 12/24/69

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 157-459

Bureau File #: 100-445393

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C; REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis:

CALIF

"Ramparts" magazine in voluntary bankruptcy since 3/69, was named defendant in suit filed on 11/26/69, by FREDERICK C. MITCHELL, publisher, to restrain "Ramparts" and its subsidiaries from transferring stock. Net worth on 6/30/69, after reorganization under Chapter XI of Bankruptcy Act, stated as \$371,132 indebtedness. Total paid circulation in 10/69, down to 122,418 from 180,878 in 10/68. Officers, directors and executives set forth with subversive affiliations.

DECLASSIFIED BY 2333
ON JUL 29 1977

- P* -

DETAILS:*GAT/RDB*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/21/80 BY huc

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) *declassification*
DATE AUG 28 - 1977

RDB

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL
ACTIVITIES

A. History and
Corporate Structure

Bankruptcy

Ramparts Magazine, Inc. on March 6, 1969, filed a petition in voluntary bankruptcy which requested a reorganization under the provisions of Chapter XI of the National Bankruptcy Act. It declared debts of \$5,864,920 and assets of \$44,507. Among the unsecured debts was listed \$499,451.17 owed to FREDERICK MITCHELL, publisher.

Suit Against "Ramparts" by
FREDERICK MITCHELL, Publisher

The records of the Clerk of the Superior Court of the State of California at San Francisco, in Action Number 610574, reflect that FREDERICK C. MITCHELL was the Plaintiff in a suit filed on November 26, 1969, against Western Media Corporation, Ramparts Magazine, Inc. and others, for an Order to Show Cause and a Temporary Restraining Order forbidding "Ramparts" to transfer any of its capital stock held in the name of Western Media Corporation to any person or entity. This complaint alleged that the only asset of Western Media Corporation is the shares of stock in "Ramparts" magazine.

Proposed Issuance of Additional
Stock by "Ramparts"

"Ramparts" made application on September 8, 1969 (approved September 15, 1969) to the Department of Corporations, State of California, to increase the authorized number of shares issued from 200,000 to 500,000 at a proposed price of \$1 per share. The stated purpose of issuance of these additional shares was to cancel existing indebtedness and to raise cash. This application stated that a maximum of 10,500 shares would be reserved for the holders of notes payable by "Ramparts",

SF 157-459

EJO:mb

which would be converted into "Ramparts" common stock as authorized by the Plan of Arrangement by the U.S. Bankruptcy Court.

This application stated that the principal holders of "Ramparts" stock (holding 10% or more of outstanding stock) were declared as follows:

1. Western Media Corporation - 42,800 shares (22.54%)
2. Media Resources Corporation - 42,000 shares (22.17%)
3. FREDERICK C. MITCHELL - 36,850 shares (19.46%)

Interlocking Corporations and
Relationship to Ramparts, Inc.

Media Resources Corporation

The records of the Department of Corporations, State of California, File Number 500-7154, contained an application dated September 5, 1969 (approved on September 11, 1969) for an offering of 400,000 shares of Media Resources Corporation stock at \$1 per share. Attached to this application was the following information:

EXHIBIT "I"

LIST CONTAINING NAMES OF THE DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS OF APPLICANT:

NAME	ADDRESS	DATE OF BIRTH	RELATIONSHIP WITH APPLICANT	b6 b7C
Frederick C. Mitchell			President and Director	
Robert Kaldenbach			Vice President, Treasurer and Director	
Stanley K. Sheinbaum			Secretary and Director	
De Jersey Grut			Assistant Secretary and Director	
William D. Evers			Assistant Secretary and Director	
Anne Dowie			Director	
Dugula Stermer			Director	
Robert Scheer			Director	

PRO FORMA
INCOME STATEMENT
MEDIA RESOURCES CORPORATION
FISCAL YEAR ENDING
JUNE 30, 1970

INCOME:

Rental of Subscription list	
(a) to Ramparts Magazine, Inc.	\$10,000
(b) to Other Customers	<u>80,000</u>
	90,000

EXPENSES:

Computer Costs	10,000
Brokerage Fees	8,000
Interest	15,000
Overhead	<u>5,000</u>
	38,000

Net Income*	<u><u>\$52,000</u></u>
-------------	------------------------

*It is expected that no taxes will be payable due to consolidation of tax returns with that of Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

(N.B.: Consideration for issuance of stock and for assumption of indebtedness is not reflected on this statement. All such consideration will be used for purchase of the common stock of Ramparts Magazine, Inc.)

BALANCE SHEET
MIRA RESOURCES CORPORATION
AUGUST 1, 1969

<u>ASSETS</u>		<u>LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL</u>	
Cash	\$ 80.00	Accts. Payable	\$ 700.00
Investments*	42,000.00	Notes Payable	<u>38,000.00</u>
Notes Receivable	6,000.00	Total Liabilities	<u>\$38,700.00</u>
		Stock-Class A	10,000.00
Total Assets	48,080.00	\$1.00 Par	
		Accum. Loss **	<u>(620.00)</u>
		Total Capital	<u>9,380.00</u>
		Total L + C	48,080.00

*Common Stock,
Ramparts Magazine, Inc.
42,000 shares @ \$1.00

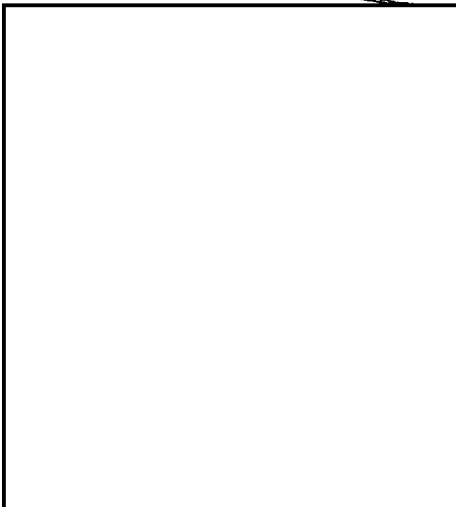
**Expenses Incurred in Organization
(Legal Fees, etc.) \$620.00

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

Western Media Corporation

The records of the Department of Corporations, State of California, file 500-1853, contained an application filed October 20, 1969, for the sale and issuance of 100 shares of \$10 par value capital stock to Ramparts Magazine for \$1,000 cash, to be used for promotion, advertising and working capital. The directors and officers of this organization were described as follows:

b6
b7C

Name	Address	Office
<u>GERALD MASON FEIGEN</u>	<u>1515 Scott Street</u> <u>San Francisco, Cal.</u>	President, Director
<u>LOUIS HONIG</u>		Vice President Director
<u>RICHARD A. RUSSELL</u>		Secretary Treasurer Director
STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM		Director
WARREN HINCKLE III		Director
WILLIAM D. EVERS		Ass't Treasurer Ass't Secretary

Dr. FEIGEN is a practicing proctologist in San Francisco. He earned his M.D. from New York University in 1933. He is currently a Director of Ramparts Magazine, Inc., Shady Tree Corporation, and The Reporter Broadcasting Company, all California corporations.

LOUIS HONIG is president of Harry Cooper-Harrington, a large advertising firm located in San Francisco. He is currently a director of Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

RICHARD A. RUSSELL is president of Russell Pontiac, Inc., as automotive distributor in Connecticut. He is currently a director of Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM graduated from Stanford in 1949 with a B.A. He is currently a director of Ramparts Magazine, Inc., Warner David Company, Inc. and Presidio Savings & Loan Association, all California corporations.

Warren Hinckle III is the editor of Ramparts Magazine, Inc. and a director thereof. He earned his B.A. from San Francisco State College in 1961.

b6
b7C

B. Circulation

The December, 1969 issue of "Ramparts" contained a statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation, filed on October 14, 1969, which is set out below in comparison to circulation figures for 1968, which were filed on October 11, 1968.

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>
a. Total number of copies printed	256,000	200,000
b. Paid circulation	88,200	60,375
1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, and counter sales	88,200	60,375
2) Mail Subscriptions	74,505	62,043
c. Total paid circulation	180,878	122,418

C. Financial Condition

The records of the Commissioner of Corporations, State of California, under File Number 500-0722 for Ramparts Magazine, Inc. contained the following balance sheet and profit and loss statement

D-1

MPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Comparative Balance Sheet

DEPARTMENT OF CORPORATIONS

SEP - 8 1969

6/30/69 OFFICE
(unaudited)6/30/68
(audited)

ASSETS:

Cash	\$ (49,562)	\$ 16,371
Notes Receivable (property)	594,100	594,451
Accounts Receivable	168,583	113,549
Inventories	10,554	12,474
Prepaid Expense	6,943	1,907
Property	5,595	6,762
Investment (property)	391,044	391,044
Other Assets	<u>1,347</u>	<u>8,052</u>

TOTAL ASSETS

\$ 1,128,602 \$ 1,144,630

LIABILITIES & NET WORTH:

Notes Payable (trade)	\$ 980,926	\$ 126,480
Notes Payable (property)	994,100	994,100
Accounts Payable (trade)	191,710	14,886
Accrued Liabilities	64,054	8,855
Subscription Liability	<u>454,885</u>	<u>371,441</u>

TOTAL LIABILITIES

\$ 2,685,675 \$ 1,515,762

Capital Stock	\$ 1,220,000	\$ 1,351,500
Discount on Shares Issued	(78,500)	(185,400)
Accumulated Deficit 6/30/68	(2,698,573)	(2,710,145)
Loss During fiscal 1968-69		(416,916)
Effect of Chapter XI Reorganization		1,589,829

TOTAL NET WORTH

\$ (1,557,073) \$ (371,132)

TOTAL LIABILITIES & NET WORTH

\$ 1,128,602 \$ 1,144,630

D-2

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Profit and Loss: Fiscal Year 1968-69

DEPARTMENT OF CORPORATIONS
RECEIVED
SEP - 8 1969
SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE

	<u>Pre- Bankruptcy 7 Months</u>	<u>Post- Bankruptcy 5 Months</u>
Income:		
Subscriptions	336,753	161,943
Newsstands	199,276	107,667
Advertising	110,889	56,791
Other	<u>108,720</u>	<u>17,750</u>
Total Operating Income	755,638	344,151
Expense:		
Production	338,484	113,495
Subscription Fulfillment	105,607	47,066
Subscription Promotion	107,657	20,879
Newsstand Distribution	54,373	13,784
Newsstand Promotion	14,389	8,706
Advertising Selling	17,667	4,382
Editorial	282,409	53,373
General & Administrative	<u>355,689</u>	<u>99,855</u>
Total Operating Expense	1,276,275	361,540
Operating Profit or (Loss)	(520,637)	(17,389)
Non-Operating Income	109,716	11,392
Net Profit or (Loss)	(410,921)	(5,997)

II. FINANCIAL DIRECTORS AND EXECUTIVES

A. Ownership and Bond Holders

The statement of ownership, management and circulation, published in the December, 1969 issue of "Ramparts", contained the following list of owners and bond holders:

OWNER (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.)

Name	Address
Western Media Corporation	1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123
Media Resources Corporation	1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123
FREDERICK MITCHELL	1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123
LOUIS HONIG	1275 Columbus, San Francisco, Cal. 94133

Twelve other stockholders hold small percent of total common stock.

Known Bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state.)

<u>NORMAN EISNER</u>	<u>1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123</u>
EDGAR LOCKWOOD	1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123

SF 157-459

EJO:mb

~~WALTER MORRISON~~

1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123

BETTY W. SHEINBAUM

1606 Union, San Francisco, Cal. 94123

Eleven other persons hold smaller notes payable by Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

B. Management

The statement of ownership, management and circulation, published in the December, 1969 issue of "Ramparts" contained the following list as names of publisher, editor and managing editors:

Publisher (name and address) ~~FREDERICK C. MITCHELL~~,
1606 Union, San Francisco, California 94123

Editor (name and address) ~~PETER COLLIER~~, DAVID HOROWITZ,
SOL STERN, 1606 Union, San Francisco, California 94123

CALIF

Managing Editor (name and address) JAN AUSTIN, DAVID KOLODNEY,
1606 Union, San Francisco, California 94123

III. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

Political Affiliations of Staff Members

The January, 1970 issue of "Ramparts" lists the following individuals as members of its Editorial Board:

~~JAN AUSTIN~~
~~PETER COLLIER~~
DAVID HOROWITZ
DAVID KOLODNEY
SOL STERN

CALIF

DAVID HOROWITZ

DAVID JOEL HOROWITZ was born January 10, 1939, at
New York City, N.Y.

CALIF

He received a BA degree in English from Columbia

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

University in June, 1959, and a MA degree in English at the University of California, Berkeley, in June, 1961.

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b7C

PHILIP HOROWITZ, father of DAVID JOEL HOROWITZ, of 3920 - 46th Street, Sunnyside, Queens, New York, was a member of the Communist Party, USA in 1946.

SF T-1, 10/28/46

The name of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] "New Challenge", the official publication of the Labor Youth League (LYL).
SF T-2, 10/19/55

The LYL was cited by the Attorney General as a subversive organization under the provisions of Executive Order 10450.

DAVID KOLODNEY

The November 10, 1965, issue of the "Daily Californian", student newspaper at the University of California at Berkeley, had listed DAVID KOLODNEY as a graduate student in Philosophy and a member of the Free Speech Movement Executive Committee, who was one of 18 graduate students who declared themselves as members of the Graduate Coordinating Committee to reform the student government.

LY [REDACTED] born [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was one of 780 persons arrested at University of California, Berkeley, on December 3, 1964, in connection with the sit-in at Sproul Hall, which was known as the Free Speech Movement.

CALIF. [REDACTED] LY

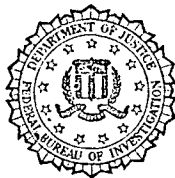
[REDACTED] was born [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SF 157-459
EJO:mb

[redacted] was one of a group of 51 Americans from various anti-war movements who attended a meeting at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia in September, 1967, with representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the National Liberation Front (South-Vietnam) for the purpose of exchanging views on the war in Vietnam and to intensify mutual understanding. (4)

SF T-3, 9/8/67 [redacted]

*Information declassified per
Department of State instruction 7-29-77
RDB*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

December 24, 1969

BUfile 100-445393
SFfile 157-459

Title	RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C; REGISTRATION ACT
Reference	Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated and captioned as above, at San Francisco, California

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

1 Mr. T. P. Druken

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

12/30/69

Director, FBI (100-445393)

0
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C

44154
ReBulet 11/18/69 which instructed you to promptly submit a report concerning captioned matter to the Bureau.

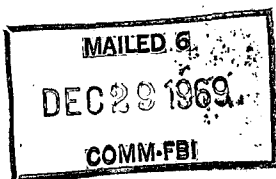
5/
To date, this communication has not been received at the Bureau. By return mail advise Bureau the date your report was submitted.

TPD:rad
(4) *rad*

EX-116

REC-95

100-445393-157



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *7/21/80* BY *uw*

Ison _____
Loach _____
lters _____
hr _____
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MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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UNITED STATES
Memorandum

TO : *cur* DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)
FROM : *214* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)
SUBJECT: *0* "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED
IS - C

DATE: 12/31/69

AM 157
Re Bureau letter, dated 12/30/69.

Report in captioned matter was submitted on
December 24, 1969.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY MLC

EX-114

REC-64

100-445393-158

15 JAN 6 1970

100-912 940
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/sms #11
(3)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1970

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

S/S

John D. Ehrlichman

Dear Mr. Director:

Thanks very much for your letter of March ninth and
the enclosed March issue of Ramparts magazine.

I most appreciate having this brought to my attention.

Best personal regards.

Yours sincerely,

John D. Ehrlichman
John D. Ehrlichman
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

EX-117

REC-19] 100 - 445393 - 159

8 MAR 16 1970

CRIME RESEARCH

EXP. PROC.
MAR 13 1970 33
60 MAR 18 1970

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 6/18/70

HJM
SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C
REGISTRATION ACT

Re report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 12/24/69 at San Francisco.

TPD: [illegible]
Operation of captioned publication has continued with diminishing circulation as reflected in referenced report. San Francisco sources have furnished scant information regarding captioned organization. It is recommended that no semi-annual report be submitted at this time and that this investigation be reviewed in December, 1970 for report purposes.

EX-115

REC-42

100-445393-160

3 JUN 24 1970

- rec 924 (qtd)*
② - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
EJO/dp
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/80 BY [illegible]

I - Mr. T. P. Druken

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

6/30/70

REC-140

Director, FBI (100-445393) - 160

X-116

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.
IS - C

Reurlet 6/18/70.

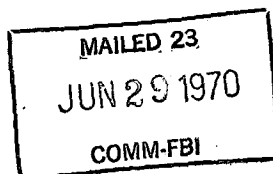
Based upon your recommendation it will not be necessary at this time to submit a report in this matter. However, you should continue to follow the activities of captioned organization and furnish pertinent information developed to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

TPD:dlb
(4)

NOTE:

Ramparts, self-described as an "independent, liberal magazine of dissent," is published at San Francisco, California. In the recent past, it has encountered financial difficulties and San Francisco advised in relet that the activities of this organization have been limited. Further, that San Francisco would review this matter in December, 1970 and give consideration to submitting a report at that time.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



60 JUL 8 1970

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

~~22 JUN 30 1970~~

TWJ

DOCS
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

May 18, 1970

The attached copy of a newspaper
article dated 7-4-65 was sent to the
Director from [redacted]
[redacted]

The following notations appear
thereon:

"Duluth News or any library

I hope you have guts enough to
publicize this

[redacted]

Oscar W. Olsen

I was raised [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Please let me help. We
need it

Oscar W. Olsen"

pam

MR. TOLSON ✓
MR. DELOACH ✓
MR. WALTERS ✓
MR. MOHR ✓
MR. BISHOP ✓
MR. CASPER ✓
MR. CALLAHAN ✓
MR. CONRAD ✓
MR. FELT ✓
MR. GALE ✓
MR. ROSEN ✓
MR. SULLIVAN ✓
MR. TAVEL ✓
MR. SOYARS ✓
MR. JONES ✓
TELE. ROOM ✓
MISS HOLMES ✓
MRS. METCALF ✓
MISS GANDY ✓

b6
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

100-445393-
NOT RECORDED

141 MAY 22 1970

CORRESPONDENCE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

MAY 22 1970

51 MAY 27 1970

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-

BACK OF PAGE

Spellman's Role

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON — Protestant newsmen have been loath to report how Cardinal Spellman and a small number of Catholic leaders worked behind the scenes to get the United States originally involved in Viet Nam.

However, a Catholic magazine, Ramparts, founded on the West Coast by Edward Keating, has now published a carefully detailed and very important story of this backstage operation. The account is authored by Robert Scheer and Warren Hinckle, the latter, the executive editor of Ramparts and it traces, step by step the manner in which the United States got involved in a bloody war which few people at the time knew much about but which has now become a major threat to world peace.

The story tells how Ngo Dinh Diem, described as a sort of "Catholic mandarin," came first to Michigan State University then to Maryknoll, the Catholic seminary outside New York.

"This was Cardinal Spellman's territory," report the editors of Ramparts, "and the cardinal and the Vietnamese mandarin soon developed a close relationship. And no wonder. Diem was an anti-Communist, and he was Catholic. His brother was even a bishop. One could not approach the cardinal with better credentials."

Diem came to Washington, was introduced to then Sen. John F. Kennedy and induced Kennedy to make a Senate speech in 1954 warning against any negotiated peace in Viet Nam which would permit Ho Chi Minh to participate in a new government.

Ironically, Sen. Kennedy's warning, 11 years ago, sounds like the warning against a negotiated peace today.

Ramparts' authors also tell how Cardinal Spellman solicited the support of Joe Kennedy, father of the late president.

"When these two powerful men got on the line together one winter afternoon in 1955, they set quickly as men of decision do, the steps that had to be taken to swing the wavering Eisenhower administration solidly behind the young regime of Premier Ngo Dinh Diem."

"Diem could not survive without increased United States support, yet the present United States commitment appeared in danger of waning. . . . Eisenhower himself was not particularly sympathetic to Diem. He recognized Ho Chi Minh's popularity and was opposed to the offer to install an alternative

marked in his book, Mandate for Change.

"But the Eisenhower administration was vulnerable to the political pressures marshaled by Cardinal Spellman and the elder Kennedy. . . . Spellman took care of the press."

Meanwhile the Geneva Treaty had been signed in 1955 calling for elections in both North and South Viet Nam to bring the two countries together and decide their type of government.

According to Ramparts, "Cardinal Spellman told an American Legion convention in 1955 that the Geneva agreements meant 'taps' for freedom in Southeast Asia, and flew to Viet Nam to hand-deliver the first check of Catholic Relief Agency Aid. . . . Spellman's influence was important and certified Diem as a solid anti-Communist, no small thing in the McCarthy era."

Diem then hired Harold Oram, crack public relations counsel, for \$3,000 a month to promote his cause and build the Viet Nam lobby. Oram arranged through a friend at the Catholic Relief Agency to meet with Cardinal Spellman, later organized "American Friends of Viet Nam." Officials of this organization included Oram's public relations partner, Elliot Newcomb, and Gilbert Jonas, Oram's account executive for Viet Nam.

Other directors and officials of "American Friends of Viet Nam" included Cardinal Spellman, Monsignor Hartnett, Leo Cherne, sparkplug of the International Rescue Committee, and several staff members of the liberal magazine, The New Leader, which, according to Senate testimony, received \$3,000 from the China lobby for publishing pro-Chiang Kai-Shek material.

The build-up of President Diem as the great democrat "proceeded under the skillful guidance of public relations man Oram, who in 1957 arranged for a triumphal visit to the United States."

"Diem's American advisers took care that his speeches were liberally larded with democratic clichés. . . . Despite the fact that during three years of office he had managed to crush rival religious sects and independent politicians and surrounded himself with a court of American advisers — Michigan State University professors, military advisers, aid officials, Catholic welfare aides."

"Everything that Diem did or attempted was described as a miracle. Articles appeared in magazines building the miracles of political stability, land reform, refugee settlement and economic development, allegedly

only a miracle of public opinion."

Ramparts also tells how the Viet Nam lobby manufactured the "refugee myth." "The dramatic story of one million refugees fleeing to the South from the Communist North supported the theory of the North Vietnamese leaders as 'devils' and Diem's regime as the sanctuary of freedom. Naive, well-meaning

publicists like Dr. Tom Dooley projected this view with extraordinary success in the United States.

"What Americans were not told was that the refugees were almost all Catholics, many of whom had fought with the French against the Communist Viet Minh and realized they could get better treatment under the Catholic Diem. These refugees were settled and well cared for through extensive American aid, becoming a privileged minority in South Viet Nam. But Diem had to use repressive police measures to keep in line the remainder of the population — 13 million — which did not share the Catholics' visceral hatred of communism, and in fact were sympathetic toward the Viet Minh."

Significantly, when Diem's generals finally deposed and murdered him, the American Friends of Viet Nam, the American lobby which had built him up and put him in power, sent a telegram of congratulations to the generals. By this time, however, President Kennedy had upped the 2,000 U.S. advisers sent to Saigon by Eisenhower to a total of 33,000 and the United States was thoroughly committed.

I hope you have guts enough to Publicize This

b6
b7c

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

6/5/70

Director, FBI (100-415762)

1 - Miss Butler

**PUBLICATIONS HANDLED BY
RESEARCH SECTION**

You are authorized to renew discreetly a one-year subscription to "Ramparts" for use of the Bureau. Advise the Bureau 30 days prior to 1971 expiration to allow time to consider renewal.

- 1 - Internal Security Section (Route through for review)
- 1 - Mr. M.F. Row (6221 IB)

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

1 - 67-455829 [REDACTED]

b6
b7c

AMB:sfw

(8)

NOTE:

Renewal requested by SA T.P. Druken, ISS, DID. "Ramparts" is a militant publication of New Left movement dealing generally with student revolutionary activity throughout world. "Ramparts" is useful in keeping abreast of nefarious activities of various groups composing New Left, and it affords valuable background information for articles, speeches, lectures, and special research projects. After extensive routing, magazine is filed in Publications File. IB. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-445393-

NOT RECORDED

178 JUN 8 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/10 BY [REDACTED]

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

1 - Mr. T. J. McNiff
1 - Mr. T. P. Druken
1 - Mr. J. E. Manning

SAC, San Francisco (100-55349)

7/14/70

b6
b7C

Director, FBI (105-181085)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

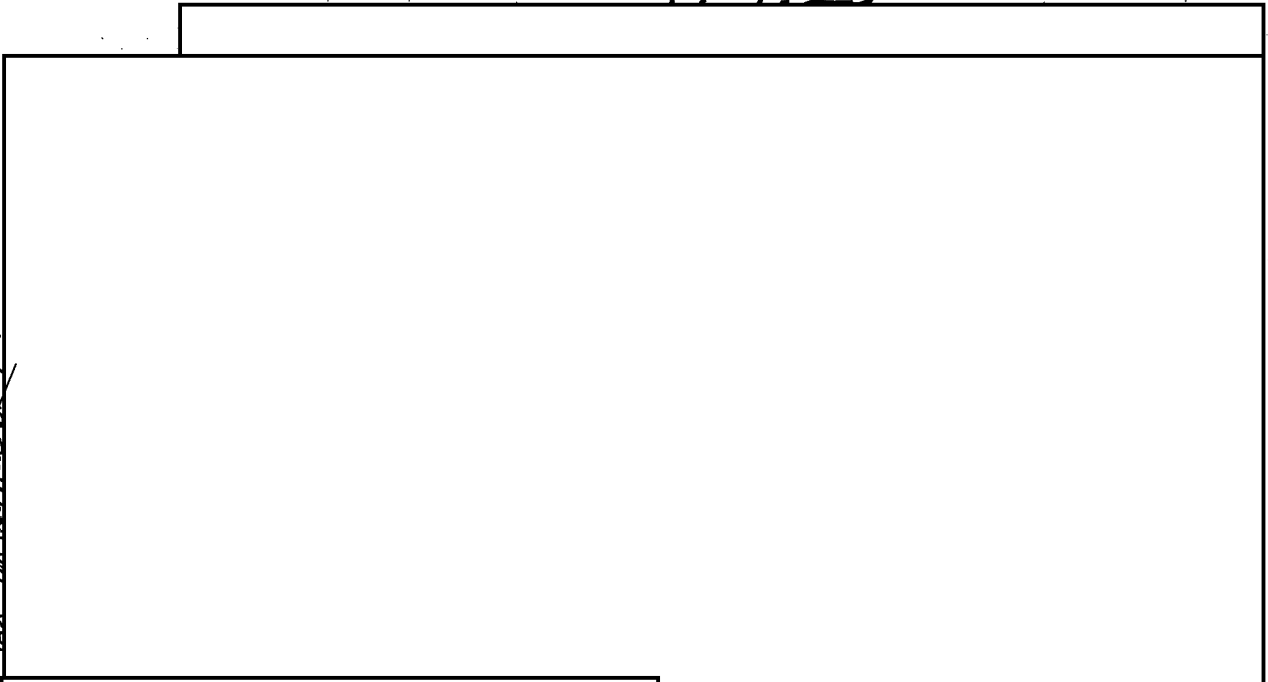
SM - PLP - VB

aka

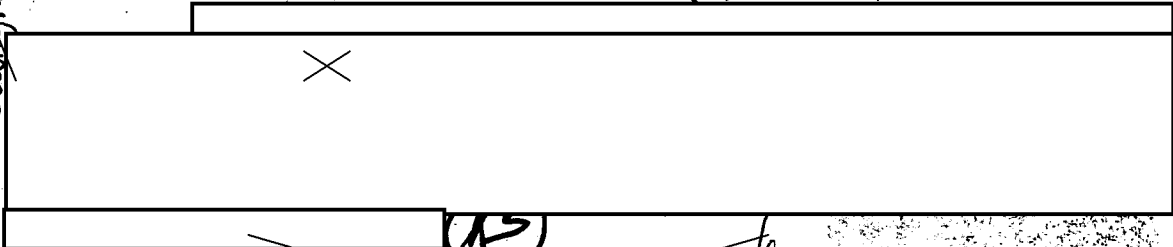
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF CLASS

~~TOP SECRET~~

Referral/Consult



(X5)



(X5)

JEM:bee/ser
(8)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 MSL/...
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 11/4/70

NOT RECORDED
180 JUL 15 1970

- 1 - 105-195696 (VB)
- 1 - 100-44593 (Rampart's Magazine, Inc.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~TOP SECRET~~

726492
JUL 27 1970
59 JUL 20 1970

FINAL FILED IN 100-1-85

4/29/83
Classified by SP1 MSL/VB
Declassify on: 1m32u Au. 24 Jul 57P

~~TOP SECRET~~

Letter to San Francisco

Re: [REDACTED]

105-161085

b6
b7C

Referral/Consult

NOTE:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

(X3)

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

APPROPRIATE
ADVISED BY SLIP(S) OF
DATE 11/18/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 11/18/70

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAR/DR
ON 02-14-2011

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - C

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP12/SLC
REASON-FORM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 11/18/70

Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 12/24/69
and Bureau letter to San Francisco dated 6/30/70

Enclosed for Bureau are eight (8) copies
of LHM reflecting investigation conducted since
submission of letter to Bureau dated 6/18/70.

Sources utilized in this LHM are as follows:

SOURCE	FILE WHERE LOCATED
First source is [redacted]	157-459-572 [redacted] ated Copy Sent Letter 4-14- Per DATA SECTION: LHP
Second source is [CG 5824-S]	[redacted] (U)
Third source is [redacted]	[redacted]

This LHM is being classified confidential because
disclosure of the identities of informants of continuing
value may seriously compromise their future effectiveness
and the national security.

A review of the Bankruptcy Court records was
conducted on 10/17/70 by SA [redacted] as was
the review of the magazine's issue described in the
adjoining LHM.

EX-115 100-445393-163
REC-13

- 2 - Bureau (Encls 8) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco
- FAK/jln
-
- (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

OSI, USAIC, SS, IRS, ONI, ISD, CIA

DEC 3 1970 100-906 D 11/27/70

(U) [redacted] CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAU/SAB/DF
ON 02-14-2011

San Francisco, California

November 18, 1970

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF~~

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF~~
11-1-80
703

On November 17, 1970, a review of the records of the Bankruptcy Court, United States Court House and Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, revealed that "Ramparts Magazine" remains before the Court and creditor's claims have yet to be disposed of. (u)

The April, 1970 issue declared that circulation had topped 128,000, comprising 63,000 newsstand sales and 65,000 paid subscriptions. (u)

"Ramparts" financial condition remains perilous, with liabilities far exceeding assets. Former publisher Frederick J. Mitchell continues to hold some \$500,000.00 of the magazine's indebtedness paper. The October, 1970 issue contains a letter of resignation by Board member Edgar Lockwood. Lockwood's departure is a considerable blow to "Ramparts" because he has been a substantial contributor to the publication (some \$200,000.00 in total) and no replacement has, as yet, come to the fore. (u)

A source advised on June 24, 1970 that "Ramparts" had received a \$20,000.00 contribution from [redacted] residing in [redacted] (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification~~

Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

CLASSIFIED BY: SP-7 mac/da
DECLASSIFY ON: 206 + 86-96

DATE 4/20/88

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-7 mac/da
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4/18/76

ENCLOSURE

*agencies notified
11-26-76
11-26-76
11-26-76*

100-445393-163

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

A second source advised on [redacted]

b7D

(U)

~~(C)~~

A third source on June 3, 1970 advised that

b6
b7C
b7D

(U) The Editorial Board presently consists of [redacted]

The Board of Directors, in addition

b6
b7C

The magazine is still published at 1940 Bonita Avenue, Berkeley, California.

-2*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(63)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

November 18, 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum
captioned and dates as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Mr. J. E. Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington - D.C.

Jan 28 - '71

Dear Sir -

Some say there is no "organized
conspiracy." But the enclosed clipping seems
to be exceedingly well organized.

Perhaps the actual work is done by simple
people for those who stand behind the screen.

You have likely seen the enclosure but
maybe it will be of use to someone.

Sincerely,

REC-56

100-445393-16

15 FEB 10 1971

ST-117

ack by form reply adv:
"Thank for info"
2-5-71 DCH/par

54 MAR 1 1971

File 5

CORRESPONDENCE

each one on the back. "I'm not a pig," he explained pleadingly to each. "You should believe me! I'm not a pig!" No one had said he was, but several people were beginning to wonder. One MDM stalwart decided to pull Randy quietly aside. He presented him with a series of background questions and explained that everyone in MDM underwent such an interview. Randy answered the questions and assured the investigator that he understood their necessity. Though the questions were few and simple, discrepancies immediately appeared in Randy's story. The night before the interview, he had told an MDM woman that he had been divorced in Scarsdale, Nevada, and during the interview he said he had been divorced in Scottsdale, Nebraska. No town named Scarsdale was listed among Nevada towns in a North American atlas. The investigator called the divorce court in Scottsdale, Nebraska, but there was no record of Randy's divorce. A second call did reveal such a record, but a call to the town in which Randy claimed a son had been born proved fruitless.

As more discrepancies cropped up, the investigator returned for more questions. By the third session Randy was visibly upset and complained that MDM was "just too paranoid." He had claimed that his truck was registered to the estate of his dead father, Vernon L. Curtis, but the Kansas Department of Motor Vehicles said that it was registered to a Vernon L. Munro. He also told the investigator that his mother's name was Jean L. Curtis and that she lived in Platt, Kansas. Telephone information for Platt listed no Jean L. Curtis, but it did list a Jean L. Munro.

On a hunch, the investigator went down the short list of Munros in the *Polk City Directory* for San Diego. Near the top was listed a Curtis R. Munro; it showed his occupation as a city cop. The clincher came when the investigator called the Bureau of Vital Statistics for Fort Smith, Arkansas, where Randy claimed he was born on August 18, 1943. The lady on the other end could find no certificate for Randall R. Curtis. She paused for a moment, then said, "Are you sure you don't mean Curtis Randall Munro? That's the closest thing I've got."

By now the investigator was sure he did mean Curtis Randall Munro, and MDM confronted Munro with his real identity before a general meeting of movement groups from San Diego. "Bullshit!" said Munro. "I'm no goddamn police officer!" He stomped out and was never seen again, but for the next two nights the MDM commune was circled with police cars.

No one can create a phony past, no matter how many records he plants; even the most transient people leave too wide a trail to cover, and—as MDM learned—there exists a technique of background investigation. For anyone involved in anything more progressive than the American Legion, the FBI has used it. The trick is to turn their technique against them.

THE SIMPLEST WAY TO SINK an undercover agent is to swamp him with questions about his past—the more specific the better. Don't scare the suspect away. Say that everyone in the organization undergoes similar questioning. If the suspect has been around

long enough to know better, say that other people suspect him, but that you personally think they are being paranoid.

Here are some sample questions:

1. Suspect's full name, address, phone number and aliases.
2. Parents' and stepparents' names (including maiden names), addresses, phone numbers and occupations.
3. Names, locations and dates of attendance for the past four schools the suspect attended.
4. His last four employers with addresses, dates of employment, kind of work and reason for leaving.
5. A description of his last two cars, including physical description, names of legal and registered owners, and license plate numbers.
6. Past marriages, divorces or separations with dates and locations of such actions. The same information on the births of children, civil or criminal court actions and any traffic tickets in the past year.
7. His past four residences, with exact addresses, dates of residency, and the phone numbers while he lived there.
8. All driver's license and draft card information. Look at the cards yourself.
9. Names of two of his long-time friends or acquaintances, how long he's known them and how to reach them.
10. A complete military history, including units, dates, jobs and superiors.

Don't let the suspect fill out a form. Ask the questions aloud and copy down the answers, along with his reactions. No one will be able to answer all the questions completely and accurately, but few agents can remain cool and resolute throughout the entire interrogation.

There are hundreds of sources of background investigation for checking his responses. The following are some of the most common to all parts of the country. Begin with names, addresses and phone numbers. All information must be verified and contradictions checked on. Check the telephone book—and call information, as changes may have been made since the book was published.

The R. L. Polk Company publishes a directory of households for most metropolitan areas. The cost of Polk's *City Directory* is prohibitive, but local libraries usually carry a current edition for their areas. The first section of the *City Directory* is an alphabetized list of heads of households, usually the husband, showing his spouse's name, his job, his employer and his address. The second section is indexed by street address. The resident's name and telephone number follow. The third section is indexed by telephone number. While the *City Directory* is fairly comprehensive, so libraries have current local directories, indexed by street address, providing residents' names and phone numbers. Published by local phone companies and is usually not otherwise available to the general public. Many libraries keep the old editions of the *City Directory* (which is usually updated every two years), allowing you to verify past addresses and phone numbers.

The Haines Company publishes the *Addressakey*, a volume similar to the last two sections of the *City Directory* but usually more geographically comprehensive.

County assessors' offices have complete listings of all real estate owners in the county. They always list property description first, then the owner's name and address. Sometimes they have a separate index, listing property owners.

100-445393-164

DIRECTOR, FBI

12/29/70

SAC, WFO

"HARD TIMES"

IS-MISC.

(Bufile 94-64180)

(WFO file 100-49642) (C)

(OO:WFO)

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INC.

IS-C

(Bufile 100-445393)

(WFO file 100-46885) (FUC)

(OO:SF)

Re WFO let to Bu, 10/23/70, captioned "Hard Times,
IS-MISC."

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of the December,
1970 issue of Ramparts Magazine.

As stated in referenced letter, "Hard Times" has
ceased to publish as a separate paper, but has now become
a regular section of Ramparts Magazine.

Ramparts Magazine itself is the subject of a
Bureau investigation, Bufile 100-445393, office of origin
San Francisco, SF file 157-459.

In view of the fact that "Hard Times" is no longer
an independent publication, WFO will discontinue investigation
in this matter UACB.

Investigation of "Hard Times"
will be continued under WFO case captioned
SM-SDS," as per Bureau instructions.

4 - Bureau (Encl. 1)
2 - San Francisco (Info) (157-459) (RM)

3 - ~~WFO~~ JAN 19 1971
(1-100-47180)
(1-100-46885)

JER:jcn

(9)

NOT RECORDED

JAN 15 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY mc

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (60-6936)

DATE: 2/8/71,

FROM : SAC, San Francisco (60-802) (RUC)

SUBJECT: NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE
ANTITRUST
(OO: CV)

RAMPARTS

Re Albany airtel to Bureau, 12/21/70, and St. Louis tel to Bureau, 1/4/71.

Enclosed are four copies to Bureau and two copies to Cleveland of an LHM reflecting information regarding arrangements for service of subpoena on [redacted]

b6
b7C

- 2 Bureau (Encs. - 4)
- 2 Cleveland (60-605) (Encs. - 2)
- 1 San Francisco

IJP:ER
(5)

REC-110

100-445393-165

NOT RECORDED

78 FEB 22 1971

ST-117

REC-7

60-6936-29

8 FEB 10 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN 60-6936-29



MAR 3 1971



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

February 8, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE
ANTITRUST

Investigation in San Francisco Bay Area to locate address

[redacted]
disclosed no record in current city and telephone directories,
credit, police, or other public sources.

b6
b7C

MD. Records of California Department of Motor Vehicles show
1971 auto registration to [redacted]
[redacted]

The November, 1970, Street Address Directory for Oakland,
California, shows that the Institute for the Study of Sport and
Society (IFTSOSS), telephone 658-5380, is located at 582 - 58th
Street, Oakland.

The August 1970 Oakland Street Address Directory lists
[redacted] telephone [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

A telephone call to [redacted] elicited the information that
this number was no longer assigned to [redacted] and he was
unknown to the present subscriber.

On January 13, 1971, telephonic contact with the IFTSOSS,
telephone 658-5380, 582 - 58th Street, Oakland, ascertained that
[redacted] was no longer associated with that organization and it
was not possible to contact him there. His residence or head-
quarters were unknown [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-165

Subsequent contact at IFTSOSS on January 29, 1971, resulted in a call from [redacted] on February 1, 1971, who explained that

b6
b7C

On February 1, 1971, [redacted]

[redacted] phone [redacted]
advised that he represents [redacted]

On February 3, 1971, [redacted] advised that [redacted] had approved his acceptance of service of subpoena for [redacted] but was concerned about when he might be called to appear, noting that his time was committed for the next couple of weeks. [redacted] schedule would not permit time to appear in Cleveland during that time. [redacted] will advise him in a couple of days what potential dates he has open where he will be able to appear in answer to a subpoena.

[redacted] on February 5, 1971, informed that [redacted]

The files of the San Francisco Office of the FBI reveal the following information regarding [redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] Lawrence, Kansas, Police Department, on November 3, 1970, advised that on the night of October 14, 1970,

at Hock Auditorium. Kansas University. Lawrence. Kansas. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]
[redacted] The Lawrence Liberation Front, described as a militant New Left group at Kansas University (KU). sponsored the meeting [redacted]
[redacted]

Among those scheduled to speak at the rally were JACK SCOTT, described as Sports Editor of Ramparts magazine and Director of the Institute for the Study of Sports and Society, as well as author of a book, "Athletics for Athletes". [redacted] resided at [redacted] SCOTT spoke of the athletes' protest movement, drug abuse, and the giving of "steroids" and "speed" to athletes. He called for change in sports for the betterment of athletes and change in the rules set by the NCAA.

[redacted] spoke at the meeting about exploitation of athletes, especially in college. He said the player had to pay the price of winning at any cost so the team would have the chance to get on TV and go to a bowl game, which would earn the Athletic Department about \$450,000. He advocated change and elimination of exploitation of athletes.

[redacted] said there were no violent remarks in the speeches and no violent action was proposed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 3/18/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C

Re San Francisco letter and LHM dated 11/18/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of a LHM reflecting investigation conducted since submission of referenced LHM.

1 cc of LHM to [redacted]

b6
b7C

1 Xerox to WFO
2-16-72

G. H. Kam

REC 113

100-445393-166

2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)

2 - WFO (Encls. 2) (Info)

2 - San Francisco

SAS/see

(6)

AGENCY C.I.A./SS/ISL
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 3-29-71
FORM. by RLS
Hm/bm JCC 924D
3 one destroyed

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

MAR 22 1971

ENCLOSURE
TNR. SEC.
[signature]

5 APR 1 1971

1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

March 18, 1971

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

A review of the December, 1970, issue of captioned publication revealed that Louise ~~Kollenbaum~~ has been removed from the masthead as consulting art director and has been named along with Bettina ~~Conner~~ as a production director. Two new positions, those of "hard times" editors, were named and filled by Andrew ~~Kopkind~~ and James ~~Ridgeway~~. Peter ~~Solomon~~ has been dropped from the Board of Directors. No other changes were observed in the masthead.

It is also noted that in an editorial, "Ramparts" announced the opening of a Washington News Bureau headed by James Ridgeway and Andrew Kopkind. The magazine pointed out that over-all operating costs would rise one third as a result of this effort, which hopefully would be covered by an increase in subscriptions ("Ramparts" editors claim to be in the black for the first time in years) and income from the newly established "Radical Press - Ramparts Press".

A review of the February, 1971, issue of captioned publication revealed that Louise Kollenbaum is again consulting art director along with Bettina Conner. The Editorial Board consists of Jan ~~Austin~~, [Peter ~~Collier~~], Sheila ~~Daar~~, David ~~Horowitz~~, and David ~~Kolodney~~. The International Editor is Eldridge Cleaver. Rhoda ~~Slanger~~ and Peter ~~Stone~~ (New York) are the Associate Editors. (u)

CA 118
The masthead and table of contents showed articles including "Angela ~~Davis~~ in Prison" by Michael ~~Myerson~~; ~~Vietnam~~: How Nixon Plans to Win the War" by Banning ~~Garrett~~; and "Medium Chile: Cinemo Verite Inside the Third World" by Philip ~~Frazer~~.

It is to be noted that "Ramparts" is now published by Noah's Ark, Inc., 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-1145393-166

ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

A review of the March, 1971, issue of captioned publication revealed that Bettina Conner has been dropped as a consulting art director and now the art director is Louise Kollenbaum. The Editorial Board showed no changes from the February issue. The only other change was the addition of Frank Browning to the Associate Editors along with Rhoda Slinger and Peter Stone (New York). Prior to this change, Frank Browning had been a contributing editor.

Articles in the March, 1971, issue included "The Cleaning of America: Don't Hold Your Breath" by James Ridgeway; ~~X~~ "Revolutionary Karma vs Revolutionary Politics" by David Horowitz; and ~~X~~ "The Greening of America: Beyond the Valley of the Heads" by Andrew Kopkind.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE DATE: 5/27/71

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46885) (RUC)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION

AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

IS - C
(OO:SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

EXEMPTION CODE 25X
DATE 02-14-2011

Re San Francisco let and LHM dated 3/18/71.

Enclosed for San Francisco is copy of clipping from Potomac Magazine dated 12/15/68 obtained from The Credit Bureau, Incorporated, Washington, D. C. (WDC), on 4/2/71.

On 4/2/71, IC [redacted] caused a search to be made of the files of The Credit Bureau, Incorporated, WDC, and was advised that the files contained the following information concerning [redacted] 105-180772

[redacted] most recent address is [redacted]

His date of birth is [redacted]

[redacted] and his social security number [redacted]

On 4/2/71, SC [redacted] caused a check to be made of the records of the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), WDC. He was advised that [redacted] male, date of birth [redacted] Social Security Number [redacted] height six feet two inches, weight 190, blue eyes. He was assigned D.C. Drivers License number [redacted] Between the dates of 11/27/66 and 8/5/69 [redacted] was cited for six traffic violations.

2 - Bureau

2 - San Francisco (157-1055) (Enc-11)

1 - WFO

REC-10
EX-107
JUL 19 1971
EXT. BY SP1 US/Chc
REASON FOR REVIEW
DATE OF REVIEW

MAY 28 1971



WFO 100-46885

On 4/2/71, IC [] caused a check to be made of the records of the U.S. Park Police, WDC. [] reportedly had been fined for a traffic violation occurring in Arlington, Virginia, in April of 1958. (No further information available.)

Both the Montgomery County, Maryland, Police Department and the Prince Georges County, Maryland, Police Department were contacted by [] on 4/2/71 and 4/5/71, respectively, concerning [] Neither department had any record on this man.

It should be noted that WFO has an open case on [] The main file notes that this person is employed []

Although [] has a history of New Left activities and associations, he is no longer active in this regard. Source contacts were made regarding [] with negative results as follows:

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>DATE CONTACTED</u>	<u>AGENT CONTACTING</u>
(S) []	4/3/71	SA []
(S) []	4/19/71	SA []
(S) []	4/5/71	SA []
(S) []	4/6/71	SA []
(S) []	4/5/71	SA []
(S) []	4/6/71	SA []
(S) []	4/7/71	SA []

On 4/2/71, IC [] caused a search to be made of the Credit Bureau, Incorporated, WDC, records and was advised that same contained the following information concerning [] as of 1969, lived

[] His wife's name []
[] His employment was given as []
[] Report states []

WFO 100-46885

At one time, the report continues, this person with peers published a magazine entitled "Mayday", however, the name of the publication was later changed to "Hard Time". Enclosed is a copy of a clipping from "Potomac" magazine of 12/15/68 found in Credit Bureau files. Clipping refers

b6
b7C

On 4/2/71 SC [] determined that no record was contained in the Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) files concerning [] It is to be noted that at all times an indefinite number of unidentified records are out of file and not available for review.

Similarly on 4/2/71 SC [] determined that neither the U.S. Park Police Department, WDC, nor the Montgomery County, Maryland, Police Department had a record of [] The Prince Georges County, Maryland, Police Department was also checked by SC [] on 4/5/71, with negative results.

The following sources were also contacted with regard to [] with negative results.

<u>Source</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Agent Contacting</u>
(S) []	4/3/71	SA []
(S) []	4/19/71	SA []
(S) []	4/5/71	SA []
(S) []	4/6/71	SA []
(S) []	4/14/71	SA []
(S) []	4/5/71	SA []
(S) []	4/6/71	SA []
(S) []	4/7/71	SA []

b1
b6
b7C
b7D

WFO has a closed main file on []

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7
SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

5/13/71

Director, FBI (100-425762)

1 - Miss A. M. Butler

PUBLICATIONS HANDLED BY
RESEARCH SECTION

You are authorized to renew discreetly a one-year subscription to "Ramparts" for use of the Bureau. Continue to mark issues of magazine to attention of Research Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

Advise Bureau 30 days prior to 1972 expiration to allow time to consider renewal.

- 1 - New Left Section (Route through for review ;
- 1 - Mr. H. F. Row (6221 ID)
- ② - 100-445393 (Domestic)
- 1 - 67-453829 [redacted]

AMM:mcn
(3)

NOTE:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] "Ramparts" is a militant publication of New Left movement dealing generally with student revolutionary activity throughout world. "Ramparts" is useful in keeping abreast of nefarious activities of various groups composing New Left, and it affords valuable background information for articles, speeches, lectures and special research projects. [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted] (67-453829). Yearly subscription price for monthly is \$8.50. After extensive routing, magazine is filed in Publications File, ID.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/2/80 BY [signature] DUPLICATE YELLOW

55 MAY 26 1971

100-445393-
NOT RECORDED

185 MAY 20 1971

FILED IN
100-445393-92
b6
b7C
ORIGINAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 6/10/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C

Re San Francisco LHM dated 3/18/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM reflecting investigation conducted since submission of referenced LHM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

EX 101

REC-100-445393-169

20 JUN 14 1971

2 - Bureau (Encl 8) (RM)

2 - San Francisco

SAS/kle

(4)
ENCLOSURE

RECEIVED FBI REC'D
DATE FORW. 6-18-71
HOW FORW. by KIS
BY W.G.D. / B.N. LCC 924D

Not INT. SEC.



124

JUN 22 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 10, 1971

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

A review of the April, 1971, issue of captioned publication revealed no change in staff.

The April issue of "Ramparts" gave most attention to the People's Peace Treaty. The article mentioned that the People's Peace Treaty is based on the Eight Points for Peace proposed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Paris, September 7, 1970. The Eight Points of Peace and the People's Peace Treaty represent the PRG's recognition of the need to undercut any excuse President Nixon might use to justify prolonging the war.

A review of the May, 1971, issue of captioned publication revealed that Louise Kollenbaum has been reappointed to art director. Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party expatriate, is presently the International Editor. No other changes were observed in the masthead.

The masthead and table of contents showed articles including "Hard Times Section; Blue Cross; Oil in Vietnam; Women in Congress; Mayday", and "Anti-War Games" by Allen Ginsberg.

A review of the June, 1971, issue of captioned publication revealed that Diane Coleman had been added to the staff as an Editorial Assistant, which included Toni Barrientos, Joan Medlin and Claudia Niles. No other changes were observed in the masthead.

The masthead and table of contents included articles, such as: Hard Times: "Health Economics; Business of War;

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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100-445393-169

ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

File
00118
* Appalachian Inferno; and Mayday"; "Women in Prison" by Kitsi
Burkhart, and "A Reader's Guide to the Welfare State" by
Derek Shearer.

Captioned magazine's editorial rooms and main business office is located at 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California, telephone (415) 849-4771.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 8/6/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C

Re Bureau 0-1 dated 8/4/71 captioned [redacted] and San Francisco letter dated 11/18/70 captioned "Ramparts Magazine".
2/1/73

Referenced 0-1 requested when LHM would be submitted and referenced San Francisco letter above.

A review of referenced letter and LHM refers to one [redacted] "The October, 1970, issue contains a letter of resignation by Board member EDGAR LOCKWOOD. LOCKWOOD'S departure is a considerable blow to 'Ramparts' because he has been a substantial contributor to the publication (some \$200,000 in total) and no replacement has, as yet, come to the fore."

[redacted] A review of file 157-459 shows that [redacted] resides at [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

Records of Commissioner of
Corporations, State of California,
12/9/69

This information was originally transmitted to the Bureau in the 12/24/69 report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN captioned "Ramparts Magazine, Inc."

Enclosed for the information of the Bureau and WFO are two copies each of [redacted] letter of resignation.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - WFO (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
- RSB/see
- (6)

ENCLOSURE
REC-3 100-445393-170
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [redacted]
(INT) [redacted]



SF 157-459
RSB/see

LEAD

WFO

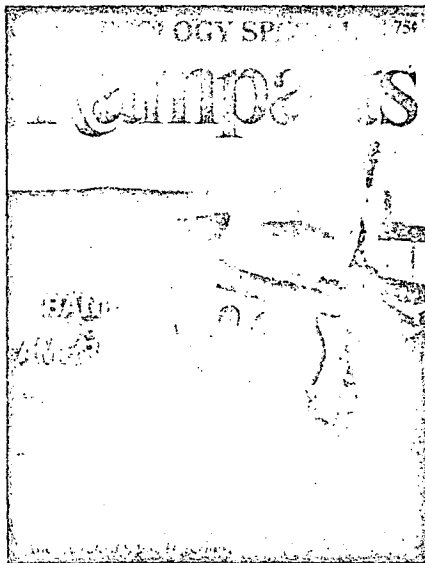
Submit LHM as requested by the Bureau under caption

b6
b7C

*Not
Necessary
WFO advised*

Back-of-the-Book

Letters:



[DIRECTOR RESIGNS]

TO THE EDITORS: RAMPARTS has not been my favorite magazine for some time. Nevertheless, when it was in desperate financial straits I helped to rescue it and keep it alive. I confess to being unashamedly a liberal. I have always been impressed by the thought of Justice O. W. Holmes, Jr., that "time has upset many fighting faiths" and that our country at its best and deepest level has believed even more than we have believed [in] the very foundations of our own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas. For that reason, I felt it was important to the maintenance of that competition to have in existence a large-circulation left-oriented magazine which would be open to a variety of unpopular and radical ideas. Striving to catch and hold the public eye, you have opened our minds to the obscenities of power, to the economic self-interest of powerful groups that control the seats of decision-making. At other times, you have blurred issues by inaccuracies and half-truths in order to take advantage of immediate opportunities to make a point.

The cover of your issue on ecology [May 1970] to a large degree vitiated the thoughtfulness of its contents. It encouraged students to believe that burning banks would do as much for ecology as teach-ins. I wonder what evidence you have for such a belief. The burning evidently did convince Mr. Lundborg to testify against the war for two hours because it was bad for business. Other revolutionary effects I have not seen, nor, so far as I can judge, were they intended by the students, who were affluent, alienated, bored, restless, and fed up over a local issue. What the bombings and trashings have done is to raise a further false issue for the radical right, the super-patriots of the working class and their political representatives to exploit.

Now I have at hand your editorial on Tom Hayden's book [July 1970]. In it you state that revolution is no longer utopian but a real political alternative, that the system "cannot be revitalized [but] must be overthrown. As humanely as possible, but by any means necessary"—led by the students.

That statement in my view is irresponsible and can only lead to dangerous escalation of your already inflated rhetoric. I don't know what you mean by it, and I suspect you don't either, but there are innocent young people who will read in it a sanctification for their wild flailing and bitterness. I suspect that any true revolutionary judges the context of the time and the possibilities more shrewdly. Our nation's system has at its disposal enormous reservoirs of brute power and military might. That factor alone differentiates it from Third World situations as far as home-grown revolution is concerned.

It is true that we live in revolutionary times and that profound change is needed; I, for one, as a liberal, do believe that institutional change and new institutions must be initiated. I am not just interested in the same old electoral process, nor do I have any illusions

that the electoral process alone will save the country, but I am not about to throw out the electoral process mindlessly for that reason. Congress is moving toward a profound constitutional crisis as it seeks to reassert its prerogatives over the war-making power of the country. It is ridiculous to dismiss this struggle as of no account. I sense that the reassertion of the need to overthrow the government reflects as much the failure of the New Left to solve its own internal politics as it does the profound frustration we all feel because power seems so unresponsive to all the pressure.

As a nation we have a penchant for the apocalyptic. We are a melting-pot in search of some unifying theme. So often we get it by some scapegoat to blame everything on. What the times call for, though, is a coolness that is not without an underlying determination and passion for change, a discipline and a love and openness to all men of good will. I would argue that if profound change is to come, the necessary means will continue to be non-violent except in self-defense situations. It would seem that you do not. In view of this divergence of fundamental point of view, I am going to ask you to remove me from the Board of Directors. I wish you well but we must for now part company.

—EDGAR LOCKWOOD

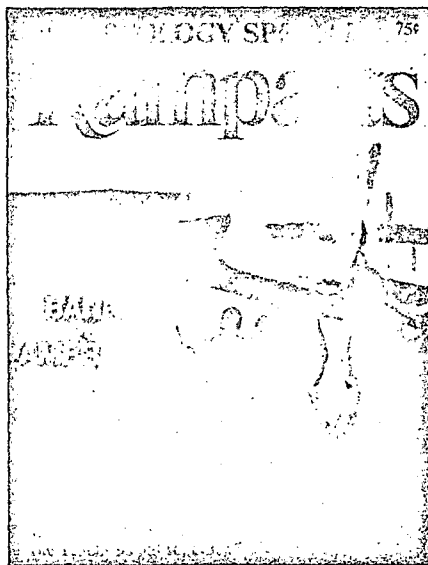
[REPLY BY THE EDITORS]

DEAR TED: We are printing (and answering) your letter of resignation in the pages of RAMPARTS, not only because you requested this courtesy, but because we feel that your views are in one way or another characteristic of those of many of your generation and liberal persuasion who, in the face of the deepening social crisis and oncoming repression, are allowing themselves to be divided from those younger, more radical generations struggling for social

100-445593 - 170
ENCLOSURE

Back-of-the-Book

Letters:



[DIRECTOR RESIGNS]

TO THE EDITORS: RAMPARTS has not been my favorite magazine for some time. Nevertheless, when it was in desperate financial straits I helped to rescue it and keep it alive. I confess to being unashamedly a liberal. I have always been impressed by the thought of Justice O. W. Holmes, Jr., that "time has upset many fighting faiths" and that our country at its best and deepest level has believed even more than we have believed [in] the very foundations of our own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas. For that reason, I felt it was important to the maintenance of that competition to have in existence a large-circulation left-oriented magazine which would be open to a variety of unpopular and radical ideas. Striving to catch and hold the public eye, you have opened our minds to the obscenities of power, to the economic self-interest of powerful groups that control the seats of decision-making. At other times, you have blurred issues by inaccuracies and half-truths in order to take advantage of immediate opportunities to make a point.

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that the electoral process alone will save the country, but I am not about to throw out the electoral process mindlessly for that reason. Congress is moving toward a profound constitutional crisis as it seeks to reassert its prerogatives over the war-making power of the country. It is ridiculous to dismiss this struggle as of no account. I sense that the reassertion of the need to overthrow the government reflects as much the failure of the New Left to solve its own internal politics as it does the profound frustration we all feel because power seems so unresponsive to all the pressure.

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—EDGAR LOCKWOOD

[REPLY BY THE EDITORS]

DEAR TED: We are printing (and answering) your letter of resignation in the pages of RAMPARTS, not only because you requested this courtesy, but because we feel that your views are in one way or another characteristic of those of many of your generation and liberal persuasion who, in the face of the deepening social crisis and oncoming repression, are allowing themselves to be divided from those younger, more radical generations struggling for social

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/9/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - C
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco LHM dated 6/10/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM reflecting investigation conducted since submission of re LHM.

LHM is classified CONFIDENTIAL to protect identity of source of continuing value.

Agent observing [redacted] on 6/2/71 was SA DONALD E. JONES.

First source is [redacted]

ADMINISTRATIVE

San Francisco is conducting appropriate investigation

[redacted] San Francisco is cognizant of the fact that "Ramparts" Magazine might be making other payments to New Left extremist-type individuals.

LEAD:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA: Will consider the possibility of interviewing [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-13

100-445393-171

17 SEP 15 1971

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
- KWT/jb #S-3

(4) AGENCY USE ONLY, DATE, CTR, CNT, RNO (ISD)

32 OCT 5 1971
DATE FORW. 9-30-71
HOW FORW. BY RIS
BY WGD/BW/ICS 924D

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan
1 cc destroyed



ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

CA 117
A review of the July 1971 issue of captioned publication revealed that Ned ~~Takahshi~~ had been added to the business staff, Subscription Department. The masthead and table of contents included such articles as "Hard Times: The Enemy Within: The FBI's Forgotten Past," "Viet Vets: The Anti-War Army" by Art Goldberg, "Mayday: Anatomy of the Movement" by Michael P. Lerner, "Civil War in Ceylon," by Tamara Dutscher, "Inside Los Angeles: The Coroner's Report" by Maxwell Boas, "Battle For The South: Phase II" by Charles Fulwood, "Lennon: The Working-Class Hero Turns Red", an interview of John Lennon by Robin Blackburn and Tarig Ali.

CA 117
A review of the August 1971 issue of captioned magazine revealed the Rhonda ~~Slangeri~~'s name was omitted as Editor, Pat ~~Shell~~ was given the title of Copy Editor (Shell was previously on the business staff) and Ray ~~Souza~~ had been dropped from the masthead where his name formerly appeared with the title bookkeeper. The table of contents for the August issue included articles such as "Hard Times: The Democrats in 1972 'Muskie and the Teddy Boys/Mayday'," "Inside China: In the wake of the Cultural Revolution" by John Gittings, "Jesus Now: Hogwash and Holy Water" by James Nolan, "Move Over, Mayor Daley, Here Comes Frank Rizzo" by Sandy Padwe, "My Jewish Problems--And Yours" by Sol Stern, "Bobby and Ericka: Free At Last (Until the Next Time)" by Art Goldberg, "Culture/Counterculture" Notes From Rainbow Farm,

CA 117
A review of the September issue of captioned magazine revealed that Frances Lang had been included as an Associate Editor, Washington, D.C. and Liz Dividow and David Kolodney were added as editorial assistants. Jay O'Dell was added to the business staff with the position as Western Advertising Manager and Clarice Martin was listed as Bookkeeper. The names Elliot Kanter, Lloyd Price and Sherry Cherry were added to the subscription department. It was further noted that Elihu Blotnich was added as Staff Photographer. The table of contents for the September issue included articles such as "Hard Times: The Economics of Health; Big Brother; Rebel Yell Academics; Mayday," "Foreign Reports: Chains of the New Army Pakistan; Detroit's Asia Strategy", "Latin America: The Left on the Move" by John

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

CAMP
Gerassi, "Rape: The All American Crime" by Susan Griffin,
"The Mormon Empire" by Frances Lang", "How the U.S. (And
Britain and Germany) Got Involved in Lockheed" by Robert
Finsh, "Culture/Counterculture--~~Jack Nicholson~~ Looks East"
by Jon Stewart, "Poet and the Revolution" by Tamara Detscher.

In June 1971, [redacted]

[redacted] was observed by a Special Agent of the
Federal Bureau of Investigation [redacted]
[redacted]

b6
b7c

Weatherman, formerly a faction of Students
For A Democratic Society (SDS), controlled
the SDS National Office from June 1969 until
its closing in February 1970. Weatherman
then entered an underground status and
adopted a tactic of "strategic sabotage,"
with police and military installations
designated as primary targets.

SDS was founded during June 1962 at Port Huron,
Michigan, and in the 1960's functioned as the
leading New Left campus-based student
organization in the United States. From a
stance of "participatory democracy," the
SDS moved to a radical-revolutionary
position. It maintained a national office
at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago,
Illinois, until February 1970. Internal
factionalism during 1969 produced three main
factions: Weatherman, Revolutionary Youth
Movement (RYM), and Worker Student Alliance
(WSA). The Weatherman and RYM no longer consider
themselves associated with the SDS. The WSA
continues to use the name SDS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/27/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

Re Bureau letter dated 9/22/71 and San Francisco letter and LHM dated 9/9/71 ^{encl 13}

Classification of referenced LHM has been re-evaluated and it has been declassified. It is requested that the Bureau copies also be declassified.

San Francisco also has changed this matter from a 157 to a 100 which is deemed more appropriate.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY luc

REC-40

100-445393-1721

16 SEP 29 1971

EX-103

NEW LEFT

1 CC RM 924-D

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco
RSB/see
(4)



1 OCT 1 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1 - Classification Folder
1 - Mr. W. G. Davis

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

9/22/71

Director, FBI (100-445393)

D
"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

Reurlet and LHM dated 9/9/71 captioned as above.

Referenced LHM was classified "Confidential" and "Group I - Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification." This classification was based on the statement in your letter "...to protect identity of source of continuing value." Your attention is directed to "Regulation Relating to the Protection of Defense Information, October, 1962, under Executive Order #10501, as amended." A copy of this Executive Order was furnished your office by SAC Letter 63-3, dated 1/22/63. Part III of this Regulation, Section 305, concerns criteria for use of "Confidential" classification. Section 305 sets forth the following directive: "Except as may be expressly provided by statute, the use of the protective classification Confidential shall be authorized, by appropriate classifying authority, only for defense information or material the unauthorized disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the defense interests of the Nation."

It does not appear from material set forth in referenced LHM that there is any information that relates directly to "defense interest" or could pinpoint the identity of a source of continuing value. It appears that information contained in your LHM was suitably paraphrased to protect the identity of your source. The information in the LHM does not appear to be of the type that would be known only to a select few.

OK
You should reevaluate your classification of the referenced LHM in accordance with standards set forth in Executive Order 10501. Within five days of receipt of this communication you should submit a communication to the Bureau setting forth why the unauthorized disclosure of material in referenced LHM would be prejudicial to the defense interest of the Nation.

Tolson _____
Felt _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Miller, E.S. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Dalbey _____
Cleveland _____
Ponder _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WGD:at
(5)

REC 20
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 07/24/80 BY *me*

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 OCT 1 1971

55 OCT 8 1971

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

100-445393-173

ING

Letter to San Francisco
Re: "Ramparts" Magazine
100-445393

In the event you determine that the classification "Confidential" is not warranted in this matter, you should declassify your copies of the referenced LHM and advise the Bureau of your action. Bureau copies will be declassified and it will not be necessary to submit amended pages.

When submitting communications on captioned publication the character IS - New Left should be used in order to facilitate routing of mail at the Bureau.

NOTE:

San Francisco is instructed to reevaluate its classification of referenced LHM, advise the Bureau and change character from IS - C to IS - New Left in order to facilitate routing of mail at the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : *JOA*
665 SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

DATE: 10/29/71

b6
b7c

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 9/9/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM regarding captioned magazine.

Copies of the October and November, 1971, issues of captioned magazine have been forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover.

LEAD:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to follow and report on future issues of captioned magazine.

ST-119

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter 4/9/76
Per FOIA Request

REC 16

100-445393-174

- 2 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
SDA/sad
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature] NOV 8 1971

AGENCY OSI, AC, SI, CIA, DNI, RA, (ISD)

REQ REC'D 11-11-71
DATE FORW. by R/S
HOW FORW. by [signature]
BY [signature] DEC 9 1971
cc destroyed



NOV 15 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

October 29, 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

The October, 1971, issue of captioned magazine contained the following articles:

"Hard Times: Rocky Mountain Coal Fever, The Agri-Welfare Roll; Accupuncture; Nixon's Feudal Friends in Carolina; Mutual Frauds; Mayday".

"Foreign Reports; Ecuador; Brith-Controlling the People; Guatemala; Food for Profit; AWOL in Japan".

"Contradictions" by Carl Oglesby.

"Soul Kaleidoscope: Aretha at the Fillmore" by Michael Lydon.

"The Making of America's China Policy" by David Horowitz.

"Down and Out in London: The Common Market Dilemma" by Alexander Cockburn.

"Sickle Cell Anemia: An 'Interesting Pathology' " by Michael G. Michaelson.

"Charles Pierce: Female Impersonator as Culture Hero(ine)" by Jon Stewart.

"Books: Woman in Sexist Society" by Roberta Salper.

"Records" by Dick Lupoff.

"Sports" by Jack Scott.

The November, 1971, issue of captioned magazine contained the following articles:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-174
ENCLOSURE

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

"Hard Times: Ethnic Weapons; Expendable Americans; Sociologyorama; Astronauts on the Make; Nixonomics; The Once and Future Shaw".

"Contradictions" by Carl Oglesby.

"Disney's War Against the Wilderness" by Roger Rapoport.

"The Strange Economics of the Vietnam War" by Banning Garrett.

"There's a Toyota in Their Future?" by James Ridgeway.

"H. Ross Perto: America's First Welfare Billionaire" by Robert Fitch.

"Out of the Closet: A Gay Manifesto" by Allen Young.

"Hollywood's New Wave" by Robert Sklar.

"Records" by Dick Lupoff.

"Sports" by Jack Scott.

It was noted in a review of the November, 1971, issue that Fred Garner and Eldridge Cleaver had been dropped as Contributing Editors, Frank Browning of New York was changed from Contributing Editor to Associate Editor, Sherry Cherry was dropped from the Business Staff, Norman Eisner was added as Publishing Consultant and Emile deAntonio, from Red Panda Films, was added as a Contributing Editor.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 11/17/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of LHM regarding a tour being planned by captioned magazine.

Source in enclosed LHM is a confidential post office box in San Francisco, California.

The Bureau is requested to forward one copy of enclosed LHM to Foreign Liaison Desk.

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP~~

CLASS
11-1-80
7-13

7/21/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/MSK/HIC
REASON FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 11/17/91

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

EX-101

REC-48

100-445393-175

11 NOV 22 1971

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
(1 - Foreign Liaison)

2 - San Francisco

3DA/vmd

(5)

AGENCY CIA/USIA LEGAT (BAE CARACAS)
STATE - RAO (ISD)

DATE FORW. 11-29-71

BY RIG

BT W6D/BN

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



38 NOV 30 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 17, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

(U) On November 11, 1971, a confidential source made available literature concerning a tour of Chile sponsored by and conducted by Ramparts Magazine. The literature is as follows: ~~C~~

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF C/AS
DATE 11/1/80
RLB~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~



~~7/21/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 USK/H
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 11/1/93~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-107/7AD

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

Ramparts

CHRISTMAS - IN - CHILE

16 days: December 11 - December 26, 1971

This is the first Ramparts Tour, sponsored by and conducted by Ramparts Magazine. Travel arrangements are through the Chilean national airlines, LAN-CHILE, which has offices in New York and Los Angeles, and which runs scheduled flights to Santiago from New York via Miami. They fly Boeing 727s.

Local arrangements (tours, interviews, meetings) are arranged by a Ramparts journalist living in Santiago, through her contacts with the Chilean Department of Tourism and with Chilean university students knowledgeable about Chilean politics who will conduct the tour in Chile. Ramparts' representatives will accompany the tour, beginning in Los Angeles. Two tour sections are planned; one originating in New York, the other from Los Angeles. They will rendezvous in Miami and fly to Santiago together. Only Ramparts' readers are invited to join this tour.

The tour has a dual emphasis: first an opportunity to see first hand a nation now engaged in an exciting political/economic experiment. To that end, our Chilean journalist has arranged for visits with government officials (there is hope that President Allende will see us), tours of nationalized industries and mines, worker collectives, as well as meetings with student, worker, journalist and other Chilean groups.

Second, we will sightsee extensively, both the major cities and ocean resorts, and the lake district 600 miles to the south of Santiago. Note on the itinerary attached that at least seven days are spent outside of the capital city. Chile is a South American country virtually unknown to U.S. tourists. Since Allende's election last year, U.S. tourism has been further discouraged by travel agencies, and there should be no excess of fellow-travellers(sic) there.

For the usual tourist information, check in your local library for Fodor's South America, 1971 edition, or ask us and we'll Xerox from our copy and send them to you.

Ramparts' Tours

Christmas in Chile

Itinerary

Saturday Dec 11 Departure	From New York (JFK Airport) on LAN CHILE FLIGHT 157 at 9:15 PM Arrive Miami Airport at 11:15 PM From Los Angeles International Airport on NATIONAL FLIGHT 42 at 12:55 PM Arrive Miami Airport at 8:17 PM, and join LAN CHILE FLIGHT 157 From Miami on LAN CHILE FLIGHT 157 leaving at 11:45 PM Arrive Santiago Chile 12:15 PM, Sunday 12 December
Sunday Dec 12 Santiago	Check in at hotel El Conquistador, Miguel Cruchaga 920, tel 396231 Rest of the day free
Monday Dec 13 Santiago	City tour of Santiago and visit to Departamento de Industria y Comercio, Interview government official there. Visit with journalists group in Santiago
Tuesday Dec 14 Santiago	Visit nationalized textile mill, interview worker's representatives and officials
Wednesday Dec 15 Santiago	Visit Departamento de Agricola, and a collective farm in the vicinity of Santiago Meet with student group in the evening
Thursday Dec 16 Santiago	Visit Departamento de Vivienda and tour "Che Guevara" housing development in Santiago
Friday Dec 17 Santiago	Free day. Some will want to go ahead to Vina del Mar today.
Saturday Dec 18 Vina del Mar	Travel by bus (2 hours) to ocean resort. Check in at Hotel O'Higgins Afternoon on the beach or take a bus tour Evening: visit municipal gambling casino
Sunday Dec 19 Vina del Mar & Valparaiso	More beaching at Vina Bus tour of Valparaiso
Monday Dec 20 Valparaiso Santiago	Return to Santiago by bus. Rest of the day free

Tuesday Dec 21 Puerto Montt	Leave by plane at 9 AM for lake district. Arrive Puerto Montt around 10:30 AM. Check in Hotel Perez Rosales. Tour environs in afternoon
Wednesday Dec 22 Puerto Montt	Tour lakes and waterfalls by boat, return to Puerto Montt for d: at Casa del Arte de Diego Rivera
Thursday Dec 23 Puerto Montt	More lakes, thermal bathes, fishing if you like
Friday Dec 24 Puerto Montt	Morning free. In afternoon, fly back to Santiago for Christmas
Saturday Dec 25 Santiago	Christmas Day free.
Sunday Dec 26 Coming Home	<p>Depart from Santiago on LAN CHILE FLIGHT 152 at 8 AM</p> <p>Arrive Miami at 6:20 PM</p> <p>Depart Miami for New York at 7:10 PM on same LAN CHILE flight</p> <p>Depart Miami for Los Angeles on NATIONAL FLIGHT 63 at 10:50 PM</p> <p>Arrive New York at 9:40 PM (JFK Airport)</p> <p>Arrive Los Angeles at 3:15 AM (This is a lousy connection, but t others available are even worse)</p>

Note: None of the itinerary inside Chile is obligatory. You can by-pass any of the events you don't like, and can even re-distribute your time among the cities-seashore-lakes, subject only to airspace restrictions to and from Puerto Montt in the south)

Details

Travel Documents Required: Valid US passport*(non US citizens should contact LAN CHILE Airlines or Chilean consulates for information) and smallpox vaccination certificate issued within past three years.

Services Included in Tour Price. Air transportation (including Puerto Montt flight within Chile), all hotels and meals, tours, guides and connecting transportation to and from airports/hotels.

Weather. December is summer in Chile. Santiago has a moderate climate and no rain this time of year, Puerto Montt may have occasional sprinkles. Summer clothing is recommended, including bathing suits for Vina del Mar. Evenings will be cool, bring coat or sweater.

Medicines, etc. Santiago is a large metropolitan city so no special problems exist that don't exist elsewhere. Obviously, if you need special medicines, bring them.

Sports. Chileans are football freaks, but its football soccer. Fishing (fresh water) is excellent in the lake district where we will spend four days. Surfing, skin diving and water skiing, as well as boating, is popular at Vina del Mar and everywhere else. Basketball, tennis, and the sort are available at private clubs and we can arrange it. There is horseracing and gambling casinos.

Shopping. Textile products are highest quality. Also copperware and jewelry and ceramics. Lots of imported European clothes and things also.

Hotel Accommodations. The tour prices include double occupancy. For single occupancy (just you in a room alone) add \$21 to the prices quoted below.

Fees, Payment, Cancellations. From New York, the cost is \$850, from Los Angeles it's \$950, payable by check before November 25, 1971. Make checks payable to the Trustee, Bruce W. Stilson, Attorney at Law, 880 Las Gallinas, San Rafael, California. To allay fears about being stranded down there, the Trustee will disburse funds only to LAN CHILE for air and other accommodations, until the tour is safely back home. We will accept cancellations, without penalty, before November 26, but thereafter, a cancellation charge of \$100 will be deducted before your money is returned to you by the Trustee (within ten days after you cancel). Use the form below when you send your check to the Trustee.

Customs and Currency. Each adult can bring back \$100 worth of good duty-free. Dollars-to-Chilean escudas convert at 1:28, and exchange is no problem.

* Passports are obtained at your nearest U.S. State Dept. office, require a certified birth certificate, driver's license or other identification, and two photographs, 2 1/2 to 3 inches square. It costs \$12 and takes a week to get the passport.

(see reverse side for reservation form)

TOUR RESERVATION

Sign me (us) up for the Christmas-in-Chile Ramparts' Tour, December 11-26, 197

Name(s) _____ and _____

Address _____ and _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone (____) _____ and (____) _____

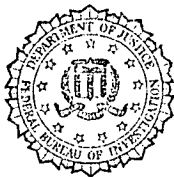
I/We will leave from ☒ New York Double Occupancy Room ☒
☒ Los Angeles Single Occupancy Room ☒ (add \$21 per)

I (We) understand that if fewer than the minimum number of reservations are received, this tour may be cancelled by Ramparts' Tours and full refund of the enclosed \$ _____ will be made by us within 10 days of notice of cancellation.

We further understand and agree to the following small print:

Ramparts'Tours (hereafter called simply "RT") acts only as agent for the hotels airlines, bus companies, or other contractors providing accommodations, transportation or other services, and all receipts, contracts and tickets issued by RT are issued subject to any and all tariffs, terms and conditions under which any accomodations etc. are provided by such hotels, airlines, etc., and by the acceptance of such receipts contracts and tickets the tour member, belowsigned, agrees that RT shall not be liable or responsible for any loss, injury or damage to person or property in connection with any services or accomodations provided to tour member, resulting from quarantines, improper or insufficient pers. etc, vaccination certificates, medical or customs regulations, or for any other causes beyond the control of RT.

date signed _____ signature(s) _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

San Francisco, California

November 17, 1971

Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-13-2011

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 1/20/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau, 11/17/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM regarding a tour being planned by captioned magazine.

Source in enclosed LHM is a confidential post office box in San Francisco, Calif.

The Bureau is requested to forward one (1) copy of the LHM to the Foreign Liaison Desk.

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/STH/hic
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1/20/72

REC-4 100-445393-176

JAN 24 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
(1 - Foreign Liaison)
1 - San Francisco

SDA:jc

(8)

1 LHM TO LEGAT BUENOS AIRES - 1-28-72
1 LHM TO LEGAT CARACAS - 1-28-72

AGENCY CIA, STATE, BAC (ISD) USA

REQ. REC'D

DATE FORW. 1-28-72

BY WED/BW

100-924D

JAN 31 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF
ON 02-14-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California 94102

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 20, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

On January 13, 1972, a confidential source made available literature concerning a tour of Chile in March, 1972, sponsored by and conducted by Ramparts Magazine. The literature is as follows: ~~C~~

(U)

~~[REDACTED]~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-176

ENCLOSURE

Ramparts

CHILE IN MARCH

15 days: March 17-31

Chile must be the second most interesting country in the world for Americans to visit--right behind China. (We are working on a China trip but aren't getting much response from Peking yet. Don't plan on it, we aren't).

Chile fascinated our Christmas touring group, so much so that we have arranged another tour for March 17-31, 1972. Like the first tour this one will combine an in-depth look at the political situation, with sightseeing and just laying-around. Chile is a remarkably open society. We found no obstacles to our free movement, meeting with students, political activists, unionists and educators, unaccompanied by government translators or guides. We were the first group of Northamericans to visit Chile for a political look-see, and the Chileans were delighted to receive us.

March will be a good time to go. It's the end of summer but still warm enough to swim. Political activity should be intense, as the right opposition is now attempting to impeach a cabinet minister, Allende is moving to call a plebiscite to reform parliament into uni-camerality, and the banks are being nationalized. As you will see from the itinerary (over), we have scheduled an entire week of political tours and meetings, but left enough free time for you to pursue your individual interests.

The optional trip to Puerto Montt (\$60) is highly recommended. Chile's lake district 600 miles south of Santiago (we'll fly) is pure, undefiled nature--snow-capped volcanoes, waterfalls, huge lakes, green valleys where no one lives. We will take motor launch tour of the lake, and the walk through the spray of Petrohue's gigantic waterfalls, and visit the villages in the area. We found it an appropriate setting in which to come down from the heady political experiences of the previous week.

This tour will be led by Ramparts' Santiago correspondent. She is bi-lingual, and well informed on Chilean affairs. In addition, another bi-lingual translator will accompany the tour, which is limited to 30 people to ensure that each individual gets treated as such.

If you want to go with us, move fast: reservations close February 15. Send \$100 and the reservation form to hold you a space, and send the balance by February 15.

Ramparts

ITINERARY

Ramparts' March Tour to Chile

- March 17
Friday Depart New York and Los Angeles for Santiago in evening, for arrival about noon the following day.
- March 18
Saturday Arrive Santiago's Pudahuel International Airport around noon. Transfer to hotel by bus. Rest of day free.
- March 19
Sunday City tour in morning, by bus, ending with picnic on San Cristobal Hill with students and labor union representative, for orientation session.
Santiago
- March 20
Monday Morning visit with Ministry of Industry and representatives of textile commission. Tour of worker-controlled nationalized textile mill in Santiago. Evening meeting with representative of socialist party.
Santiago
- March 21
Tuesday Morning briefing by Ministry of Housing. Afternoon visit to "Che Guevara" squatter's township in Santiago. Evening meeting with representative of Communist party.
Santiago
- March 22
Wednesday Morning briefing by representatives of Ministry of Public Health. Afternoon tour of public hospital and child care center. Evening meeting with representative of MAPU political party.
Santiago
- March 23
Thursday All day visit to El Teniente nationalized copper mine in Rancagua/Sewell, 40 miles from Santiago, by bus and railroad. Evening free.
Santiago
- March 24
Friday Morning briefing by representatives of Ministry of Education. Afternoon tour of public school, meet with teachers and students. Evening meeting with Chilean artists and media people.
Santiago
- March 25
Saturday Day free for shopping, museum and gallery visits. Evening meeting with representative of Christian Democratic party.
Santiago
- March 26
Sunday Day long visit to collective farm 40 miles from Santiago. Evening meeting with representatives from Ministry of Agriculture.
Santiago
- March 27
Monday Morning visit to Quimantu, nationalized publishing house. Afternoon free for shopping or swimming at San Cristobal Park. Evening meeting with Chilean social welfare worker.
Santiago
- March 28
Tuesday Optional trip to lake district and Puerto Montt, by air (\$60 additional cost) including tour of Puerto Varas and municipal gambling casino, motor launch trip across Lago de Todos los Santos to Peulla.
through Friday
- March 30
-or-
Remain in Santiago, for shopping, cultural events, and optional side trips to thermal baths outside Santiago, and optional bus tour of Valparaiso on the Pacific.
- Saturday
March 31 Puerto Montt travellers return by plane in AM, rendezvous with Santiago contingent at airport, for return flight to U. S.

Ramparts

DETAILS

Travel Documents Required: Valid US passport (non US citizens should contact LAN CHILE Airlines or Chilean consulates for information) and smallpox vaccination certificate issued within past three years.

Services Included in Tour Price. Air transportation, U.S. to and from Santiago. all hotels, all breakfasts and dinners and most lunches. The optional side trip to Puerto Montt costs \$60 extra. Tours, guides and connecting transportation.

Travel and Political Information. Every paid reservation will receive a packet from Ramparts, giving you a lot of information to chew on in advance of the trip. For travel information, see your local librarian or Fodor's South America, a guide-book.

Services Not Included in Tour Price. Tips to porters and maids, airport taxes, a few lunches and side trips on your own.

Weather. March is the end of summer in Chile. Santiago has a moderate climate. Puerto Montt will be cooler. Bring coats.

Shopping. Textile products are highest quality, copperware jewelry and ceramics are good, revolutionary posters and prints are great. Photographic film is very expensive, so bring plenty.

Hotel Accomodations. The tour prices include double occupancy. For single occupancy (just you in a room alone) add \$40 to the prices quoted below.

CALIF.

Fees, Payment, Cancellations. From New York, the cost is \$750, from Los Angeles \$825, from Miami \$700, all payable by check before February 15, 1972 to Carl Malpern, Trustee, Ramparts, 2054 University Ave., Berkeley 94704. To allay fears about being stranded down there, the Trustee will disburse funds only for air and other accomodations, until the tour is safely back home. We will accept cancellations, without penalty before February 15, but thereafter, a cancellation charge of \$200 will be deducted before your money is returned to you by the Trustee (within ten days after you cancel). This is necessary because we cannot get refunds from the hotels. Of course we will try to find a replacement if you cancel, and if we succeed, will levy no cancellation fee to you. Use the form below when you send your check to the Trustee.

Customs and Currency. Each adult can bring back \$100 worth of goods, duty-free. Dollars-to-Chilean escudos convert at 1:28, and you cannot convert escudos back to dollars, so don't convert many dollars to escudos!

TOUR RESERVATION

Sign me (us) up for the Ramparts Chile Tour, March 17-31, 1972.

Name(s) _____ and _____

Address _____ and _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone (____) _____ and (____) _____

I/We will leave from ☒ New York (\$750) ☒ Double Occupancy Room
☒ Los Angeles (\$825) ☒ Single Occupancy Room (Add \$40)
☒ Miami (\$700)

☒ I/We want to be included in the 4-day optional trip to Puerto Montt and the Lake district and include an extra \$60 for each of us.

I/We understand that if fewer than the minimum number of reservations are received, this tour may be cancelled by Ramparts' Tours and full refund of the enclosed \$ ____* will be made by us within 10 days of notice of cancellation.

We further understand and agree to the following small print:

Ramparts' Tours (hereafter called simply "RT") acts only as agent for the hotels airlines, bus companies, or other contractors providing accomodations, transportation or other services, and all receipts, contracts and tickets issued by RT are issued subject to any and all tariffs, terms and conditions under which any accomodations, etc. are provided by such hotels, airlines, etc., and by the acceptance of such receipts contracts and tickets the tour member, belowsigned, agrees that RT shall not be liable or responsible for any loss, injury or damage to person or property in connection with any services or accomodations provided to tour member, resulting from quarantines, improper or insufficient passports, vaccination certificates, medical or customs regulations, or for any other causes beyond the control of RT.

Date signed _____ Signature(s) _____

* To secure yourself a reservation, send \$100 per-seat now, and the balance by February 15, 1972. Or pay it all now if you prefer.

F B I

Date:

1/28/78

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

Via _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-NEW) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
SM - NEW LEFT

(Priority)
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Miller, ES	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Cleveland	_____
Mr. Fox	_____
Mr. Gales	_____
Mr. Wickert	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

CLASS 11-1-80

TUB LAM

has advised

(U) [redacted] was unable to obtain any additional information but has seen [redacted] who is described as follows:

1CC M9240

EX-104

16 FEB 1 1978

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 2-San Francisco (RM)
- 3-Seattle
- (2-100-NEW)

(U) WHW/rmh

(7) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 YSK/HAC/UCD
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 1/28/92

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

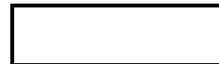
Sent _____ M Per _____

55 FEB 9 1978

SE 100-NEW

Race:	White
Sex:	Male
Nationality:	American
Height:	6'3"
Weight:	195 pounds
Eyes:	Blue
Hair:	Light Brown medium length and wears a moustache.

Age:



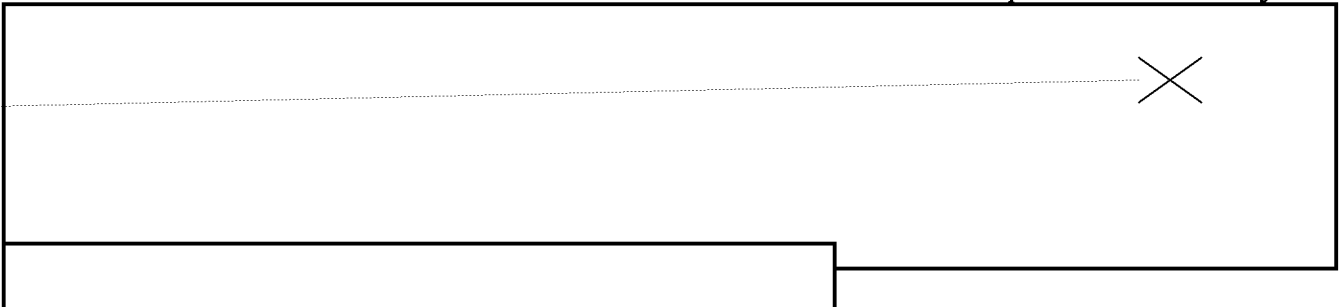
b6
b7C

Characteristics:

No distinguishing marks;
however, is a constant
pipe smoker.

b6
b7C
b7D

The San Francisco Division should attempt to identify



(U)

The San Francisco Division should furnish the results
of any investigation to Seattle so that informant's veracity may
be evaluated further.

*NO ACTION
AT THIS TIME
PER DPM/WG-1
1/3/72*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : LEGAT, LA PAZ (62-2) (P)
SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

DATE: 2/11/72

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On 2/11/72, [redacted]

b6
b7C

requested through Legat, a copy of an article entitled "In Cold Blood," written by MICHELE REY (ph), which appeared in a recent issue of captioned magazine. The article reportedly includes an interview with former Bolivian President ALFREDO OVANDO CANDIA, who is currently exiled in Madrid, Spain.

If available Bureau is requested to furnish Legat with a copy of above article for [redacted]

0-1. WFO 5/11/71
Submitted 4/28/72

1 copy WFO
WFO 3/3/72
RA

Review of editions available
at Bureau negative.
Locate + review recent issues
at Library of Congress + obtain
Xerox copies of pertinent articles.

7/21/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/USK/RA
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 2/11/72

- 3 - Bureau
1 - Foreign Liaison Desk
1 - La Paz
NFS/jms
(4)

REC-15

100-445393-177

FEB 16 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

NAT. INT. SEC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



~~CONF~~

Legat, La Paz

3/10/72

EX-101

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. Wannall (Guidance Folder)
1 - Mr. Day

REC 10

100-445393-177
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
FOREIGN POLICE COOPERATION

Reurlet dated 2/11/72 entitled "Ramparts Magazine,
Miscellaneous Matters."

A review of recent issues of this magazine available at the Bureau failed to locate an article entitled "In Cold Blood" written by Michele Rey (phonetic). The Washington Field Office has been requested to check recent editions of this magazine, which are not presently available at the Bureau, in an effort to locate the above mentioned article. You will be advised of the results of this search.

It is noted that referenced letter utilizes the character "Miscellaneous Matters." In cases such as this, it would be more appropriate to use the "Foreign Police Cooperation" character. Be guided by the above in the future.

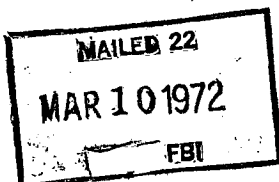
1 - Foreign Liaison Desk (Detached)

RAB:wmc
(6)

NOTE:

The use of the character "Miscellaneous Matters" should be avoided wherever possible. Since cooperation was requested by a foreign official it would be more appropriate to utilize the "Foreign Police Cooperation" character.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Miller, E.S. _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Dalbey _____
Mr. Cleveland _____
Mr. Ponder _____
Mr. Bates _____
Mr. Walker _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Spore _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____



7/21/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/STC/thc
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 3/10/82

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONF~~

2 MAR 10 1972

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 3/8/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

Re SF letter to Bureau, 10/29/71.

Enclosed are eight (8) copies of LHM re captioned magazine.

Copies of December, 1971, January, 1972, February, 1972 and March, 1972, issues of captioned magazine have been forwarded to Bureau under separate cover.

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to follow and report on future issues of captioned magazine.

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter 4/9/76
Per FOIA Request

ST 104

REC 68

100-445393-178

ENCLOSURE

2 - Bureau (encs. 8) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
SDA:ay
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]
#90021

AGENCY AC.SI: 2 CC-RAD(ESD)

REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 3-16-72

BY R/S

ST. W. CD/ [signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

March 8, 1972

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY SP1 YSK/ha

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

The December, 1971, issue of captioned magazine
contains the following articles:

HARD TIMES

"The Antipopulists;" "The LBJification of U. T.;"
"East Coast Oil;" "The Honor System;"
"Who Owns Vermont?"

COMMENT

"Organizing the New Politics: A Proposal"
by Staughton Lynd

ESSAYS

"Carnal Knowledge: A Portrait of Four Hookers"
by Kate Coleman
"Behind the Cancer Campaign"
by Robert Brazell
"The Rise of Henry Kissinger"
by David Landau
"Letters from Attica and Elsewhere"

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

"From the Cockettes With Love and Squalor"
by Jon Stewart
"Women's Studies"
by Roberta Salper
"Rainbow Farm"
"Records:"
by Dick Lupoff
"Sports"
by Jack Scott

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of
the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not
to be distributed outside your agency.

100-146092-178

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

The January, 1972, issue contained the following articles:

HARD TIMES

"Internal Security Makes a Comeback;"
"The CIA as Cop;"
"Blue Cross Lobby;" "Ludlow Massacre Revisited;"
"Corporation Towns;" "The Smathers Machine;"
"Chairman Connally Speaks;" "Vaccines"

ESSAYS

"Japan: Rising Sun in the Pacific"
by Tom Engelhardt and Jim Peck
"Greece: Jackie and Ari and Tom and George and Spiro and"
by Robert Fitch
"Melina Mercouri: "I was born Greek" "
by Judy Oringer
"Mascots of War"
by Jill Marti

CAMPAIGN '72

"Senator "Scoop" Jackson: Pentagon Populist"
by Frank Browning

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

"Tom Wolfe: Reactionary Chic"
by John Gordon
"Sports"
by Jack Scott
"Records"
by Dick Lupoff

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

The February, 1972, issue contained the following articles:

HARD TIMES

"Corporate Tax Bonanza;" "Emma Goldman;" *U.S.A.*
"The Sickle Cell and the Pill;" "Clean Water;"
"Nixon vetoes Nixon;"
"Texas Gas vs Kentucky Farmers"

ESSAYS

"Science Fiction Hawks and Doves;
Whose Future Will You Buy?"
by Richard Lupoff
"The China Scholars and U. S. Intelligence"
by David Horowitz
"Organizing Behind Bars" *U.S.A.*
by Frank Browning

COMMENT

"A Phase Two Strategy for the Left"
by Staughton Lynd
"Beyond the Pentagon Papers" *U.S.A.*
by Melvin Gurtov

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

"Doris Lessing: Cassandra in a World Under Siege"
by Margaret Drabble
"Records"
by Dick Lupoff *U.S.A.*
"Sports"
by Jack Scott
"Letters"

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

The March, 1972, issue contained the following articles:

PERSPECTIVE

"Asian Tragedy; Purge in China"
by David Horowitz

HARD TIMES

"Gas Battle of Algiers
DuPont Nation; Mayday"
by James Ridgeway

FOREIGN REPORTS

"I. R. A. : Beyond the Barricades"
by Russell Stetler

CONVERSATIONS

"The Panthers After the Trial"
by Art Goldberg

FEATURES

"The Love Machine: Sex and Scandal in the Penn Central"
By Robert Fitch

"Underground Medicine: Ups and Downs of the Free Clinics:
By Constance Bloomfield and Howard Levy

"Fritz the Cat"

By Jon Stewart

"Oops!...The Story of Nuclear Power Plants"
by Roger Rapoport

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

"Left-Winging to Chile"
by Robert Kaltenbach

"Records"

by Dick Lupoff

"Letters"

1976
3/2/72
5/1/72
8/1/72

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

The following changes were noted in the masthead of the December, 1971 edition:

Robert Fitch was added as an Associate Editor and Toni Barrientos was dropped as an Editorial Assistant.

The following changes were noted in the masthead of the January, 1972 edition:

David Kolodney was dropped as an Editorial Assistant and added as an Editor. Robert England was dropped from the Business Staff and Peter Stone was added to the Business Staff as Eastern Advertising Manager.

Claudia Niles was dropped as an Editorial Assistant and Arleen Kumagai was added as an Editorial Assistant.

The February, 1972, issue contained the following changes in the masthead:

Robert Fitch was changed from Associate Editor to Editor; Guy W. Shoup was added as Special Counsel to the Business Staff and Sally Greenawalt was dropped as Editorial Assistant.

The March, 1972, masthead contained the following changes:

Nedd Takahashi was added as Editorial Assistant and Claudia Niles was added to the Business Staff in the Subscription Department.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/28/72

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46885) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

Re Legat, La Paz let to Bu dated 2/11/72, requesting a copy of an article entitled "In Cold Blood", written by MICHELE KEY (phonetic), which presumably appeared in a recent issue of captioned magazine. The article reportedly includes an interview with former Bolivian President ALFREDO QUANDA CANDIA, who is currently exiled in Madrid, Spain. This article was requested by [redacted]

Investigation at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., on 4/19/72, by SA [redacted] wherein all monthly issues of captioned magazine from 7/70 through 2/72, were reviewed and failed to reveal the requested article.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF 100-46885

DATE 11-1-80
TUB

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

EX-115

REC-51

100-445393-179

16 MAY 1972

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/MSK/hcc
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2, 2.3
DATE OF REVIEW 4/28/72

- 3 - Bureau
(1 - Legat, La Paz)
1 - WFO

JER:ord
(4)

57 MAY 8 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 4/28/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - NEW LEFT

Re SF let to Bu, 3/8/72.

Enclosed are eight (8) copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Copies of the April, 1972, and May, 1972, issues of captioned magazine have been forwarded to Bureau under separate cover.

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to follow and report on future issues of captioned magazine.

REC-29

100-445393-180

2 - Bureau (Encl. 8) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
SDA:sfc #S-2
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

ENCLOSURE

1cc of P#4 of LHM
forwarded to [redacted]

4 MAY 5 1972

SDECE

AGENCY 2CC RAD (ISD)

REQ. REC'D

DATE FORW. 5-11-72

BY R/S

51 MAY 11 1972

not destroyed

rep. 7-21-72

HF/

NEW LEFT

b6
b7C





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

April 28, 1972

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The April, 1972, issue of captioned magazine contains the following articles:

Perspective

"Vietnam and the Elections: Old Myths and
New Realities"
by David Kolodney

"Nixon's Peace Offer"
by Noam Chomsky

"Selling the Debt; Zimbabwe!"
by Robert Fitch

Hard Times

"Health; The Blue Cross We Bear"
by James Ridgeway

Foreign Reports

"Apartheid in the New Africa"
by Ruth First

Features

"How to Cheat on Your Income Tax: A Guide"
by Bob Cratchit

"Them That Has, Keep: Taxes"
by Jack Newfield and Jay Greenfield

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/2/80 BY [signature]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-180

ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Big Sky: Chet Huntley's Home on the Range"
by Frank Browning

"Inside the RAND Corporation and Out: My Story"
by Anthony Russo

Culture/Counter Culture

"Updike Redux"
by John Gordon

"Records"
by Dick Lupoff

"Letters"

The May, 1972, issue of captioned magazine contains the following articles:

Perspective

"Et tu China?"
by David Kolodney

"Indochina: The Next Phase"
by Noam Chomsky

Essays

"Black Cops: Black and Blue Ain't White"
by Carol Morton

"Eating It! From Here to 2001"
by Judith Van Allen

"Why China 'Turned West'"
by Jim Peck

"Deaths I Have Known"
by Jose Yglesias

"Seattle: The New Poor Face the New Depression"
by Jon Stewart

"The New Poor: A Case Study"

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Culture/Counter Culture

"Solzhenitsyn: An Appraisal"
by Tamara Deutscher

"Records"
by Dick Lupoff

"Letters"

The following changes were noted in the masthead
of the April, 1972, edition:

CALIF { Doug Wheatley was changed from the Subscription
Department to Circulation Manager, and Anne Matlack was
changed from Circulation Manager to Subscription Department. ✓

The May, 1972, masthead noted that Jim Peck had
been added as a Contributing Editor for Asia. ✓

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 5/25/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - SUBVERSIVE

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM regarding tours being planned by captioned magazine.

Source in enclosed LHM is a confidential post office box in San Francisco, California.

(U)

The Bureau is requested to forward one (1) copy of the LHM to the Foreign Liaison Desk.

1/21/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1/STH/c
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 5/25/92

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC-106

100-445393-181

6.2
7 MAY 30 1972

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF CLASS

DATE 11-1-80

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
(1 - Foreign Liaison)

1 - San Francisco

SDA/pkv

(4)

AGENCY CIA STATE ZCC-RAD(ESD)

REQ REC'D

DATE FORW. 5-31-72

BY R/S

BT TPO/BN 100-9240-200 XEROXED

NOT INT. SEC

RETRACT'S

CONFIDENTIAL





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

May 25, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF *CLASS*

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

DATE 11-1-80 *TUB* "Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

"'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

On May 19, 1972, a confidential source made available literature concerning five tours being sponsored by and conducted by "Ramparts" Magazine. The literature is as follows and concerns tours to Chile, East Africa, Israel, Russia, London, Scandinavia, and East Germany:

(U)

7/2/80
CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP/PSK/bic*
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *5/28/92*

[REDACTED]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-181

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ramparts

CHILE: 16 days - June 17-July 2, 1972
July 8 -July 23
August 5 - August 20

From New York: \$850
From Miami: \$800
From Los Angeles: \$925

As you will see from the itinerary (over), this isn't exactly an American Express Rotarian junket encamping at the Hilton. Nor is it a chorus of pink-faced denim clad brigadistas with machetes at the ready. Don't bring your sleeping bag.

Ramparts' tours mix politics and pleasure, and so far the result has been satisfying. Generally, the first week is a very heady dose of politics -- meetings, tours, and interviews; followed by a second week of sybaritic pleasures in a country of phenomenal natural beauty. ITT liked it so much they couldn't give it back.

The optional trip to the south is highly recommended -- the Andes and the lakes are something everyone should quickly look at while they are still clear and unpopulated.

This tour will be led by our correspondent in Santiago, who is bi-lingual and well informed on Chilean affairs. The tour is limited to 25 people to ensure that each individual is treated as such, and has an opportunity to pursue his/own interests.

The seasons are reversed in the southern hemisphere, so it will be winter there, the Andes will be heavily blanketed with snow, and for those so inclined, Portillo offers skiing quite near to Santiago. Skiing is not included in the itinerary, but those that wish can cut themselves loose from the group for a day or so.

The prices above include all airfares, hotels, tours, most meals, all tips, and they exclude passport fees, airport taxes and a few meals. Hotels are good, but are not Hilton/Sheraton. We stay where the vacationing Chileans stay.

The only travel documents needed are a valid passport and a smallpox inoculation certificate issued within the past three years. It takes a couple of weeks to get the passport, so don't wait until the last minute. We fly with the national Chilean airlines (LAN Chile Airlines) which use Boeing 727s.

Ramparts reserves the right to cancel any of these tours if less than the minimum 15 people sign us, because we need that many to get the group airfares.

To reserve a space, send \$100 deposit, and pay the balance at least thirty days prior to departure date. If you cancel after that 30 day period begins, we may have to levy up a \$200 cancellation charges, because the hotels sometimes will not refund.

Some people will want to extend their trip and see more of South America. By traveling on the 22-45 day excursion fare and paying some \$170 extra, this can be done.

TOUR RESERVATION FORM: Sign me up for the Ramparts Chile Tour leaving _____.

I will leave from _____, and do/do not wish to take the optional sidetrip to Puerto Montt.

signed

Address

Ramparts

ITINERARY

RAMPARTS' TOUR TO CHILE

- Day 1
Friday Depart New York and Los Angeles for Santiago in evening, for arrival about noon the following day.
- Day 2
Saturday Arrive Santiago's Pudahuel International Airport around noon. Transfer to hotel by bus. Rest of day free.
- Day 3
Sunday City tour in morning, by bus, ending with picnic on San Cristobal Hill with students and labor union representative, for orientation session.
Santiago
- Day 4
Monday Morning visit with Ministry of Industry and representatives of textile commission. Tour of worker-controlled nationalized textile mill in Santiago. Evening meeting with representative of socialist party.
Santiago
- Day 5
Tuesday Morning briefing by Ministry of Housing. Afternoon visit to "Che Guevara" squatter's township in Santiago. Evening meeting with representative of Communist party.
Santiago
- Day 6
Wednesday Morning briefing by representatives of Ministry of Public Health. Afternoon tour of public hospital and child care center. Evening meeting with representative of MAPU political party.
Santiago
- Day 7
Thursday All day visit to El Teniente nationalized copper mine in Rancagua/Sewell, 40 miles from Santiago, by bus and railroad. Evening free.
Santiago
- Day 8
Friday Morning briefing by representatives of Ministry of Education. Afternoon tour of public school, meet with teachers and students. Evening meeting with Chilean artists and media people.
Santiago
- Day 9
Saturday Day free for shopping, museum and gallery visits. Evening meeting with representative of Christian Democratic party
Santiago
- Day 10
Sunday Day long visit to collective farm 40 miles from Santiago. Evening meeting with representatives from Ministry of Agriculture.
Santiago
- Day 11
Monday Morning visit to Quimantu, nationalized publishing house. Afternoon free for shopping or swimming at San Cristobal Park. Evening meeting with Chilean social welfare worker
Santiago
- Day 12
Tuesday Air trip to lake district and Puerto Montt, including tour of Puerto Varas and municipal gambling casino, motor launch trip across Lago de Todos Los Santos to Peulla.
through
- Day 15
Friday
- Day 16
Saturday Morning free. Afternoon transfer to airport for return flight to United States.

Tanzania has just celebrated its tenth anniversary of independence from British rule. We go to see firsthand the progress and difficulties of those ten years, and to share with the Tanzanians their national holiday, Saba Saba Day in dar es Salaam. Tanzania offers a unique model for black African developing nations, utilizing as it does a democratic-socialist state and an avoidance of entanglement in big-power international politics. Where Africa in the western mind of the 60's conjures memories of political instability, mercenaries, guerrillas/tribalism, Tanzania defies the stereotype--its own history as an independent nation has been peaceful and progressive, yet in open support of African unity and in opposition to the persistence of colonialism in Africa.

To the north, Kenya offers a contrast, for Kenya has chosen to move along liberal capitalist lines in its own economic development. As in Tanzania, our itinerary will guarantee an opportunity to fully explore with Africans these political questions, opportunities rarely available to individual travelers.

A large part of the 21 days is spent seeing the countryside, beaches, and natural sights which are usually the only attractions bringing westerners to East Africa. Our trip will not slight these aspects, for we frankly seek both political/economic interests, and an enjoyable vacation. This tour is offered only to the readers of a half-dozen left to liberal magazines. Ramparts is not American Express and its tours reflect the differences. The tour will be led by Carl Halpern, Ramparts' business manager and a former Peace corpsman and management consultant with USAID in Tanzania. He speaks fluent Swahili and is well informed on African affairs.

Most tours to East Africa are limited to two weeks, this one is 21 days because we believe that for our interest-group, two weeks is pitifully inadequate to both gain an understanding of the politics of East Africa, and to also pay proper attention to the magnificent variety of natural scenery and local celebrations around which we have scheduled this unique tour. The troupe is limited to 20 persons, first come first served. If you wish to reserve a place, you should send a \$100 deposit to Ramparts Tours, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California, 94704. The price (\$1,400 from New York) includes all hotels, transportation, tips and most meals, and is all payable 32 days prior to departure. This tour may be cancelled by Ramparts if fewer than 15 reservations are received.

Ramparts

ITINERARY: EAST AFRICA June 23 - July 9, 1972

- Fri/Sat
June 23-4 Depart New York in evening for arrival in London early Saturday morning. Saturday free, depart London in evening for overnight flight to Nairobi.
- Sunday
June 25 Arrive Nairobi, Kenya, about noon. Afternoon free for orientation and rest.
- Monday
June 26 Visit Ministry of Economic Development and tour a nationally owned industrial plant. Evening meeting with representative of ruling party (KANU)
- Tuesday
June 27 Morning briefing in Ministry of Housing, afternoon tour city, evening meeting with opposition party representative.
- Wednesday
June 28 Visit Parliament (in session) and University College, meet with students and instructors, in evening depart by plane for Moshi in northern Tanzania.
-
- Thursday
June 29 Up-country Tanzania must be seen, not only for Mt. Kilimanjaro and the game preserves, but also as an example of economic development's effect on the countryside. Today we visit a new hospital complex, interview local villagers, and tour a coffee factory and farmer's cooperative school.
- Friday
June 30 Bus to Arusha nearby to tour a nationally owned radio assembly plant, look in on the town council meeting and shop at the local market. In the evening, back in Moshi, we will interview officials of the cooperative.
- Saturday
July 1 Visit the Lyamungu Coffee Research Station, and meet with villagers.
- Sunday
July 2 The Game Preserves. Northern Tanzania has the richest natural game in the world. Our extensive tour will include Ngorongoro Crater, Lake Manyara, the Lerai Forests and the Serengeti Plains/Seronera. June is the end of the rainy season, and soon the animals begin migration--wildebeest, zebra, gazelles, hippos, elephants, hyenas, lions. We will stay overnight at lodges out in the country, visit museums, and campsites and return to Arusha late Wednesday, for our flight to Dar es Salaam.
-
- Thursday
July 6 We will arrive in time to catch the Saba Saba day activities in Tanzania's capital. This celebrates the founding of the ruling political party and features not only national displays, but cultural events, a national fair and exhibit, the number one festival of the year.
- Friday
July 13 Singers and dancers from all over the country will perform, and we will also visit the exhibitions before taking to the beaches at Dar. The Chinese helped construct the "Friendship Textile Mill" which we will tour in addition to meeting with the Tanzanian national women's organization (UWT) the national publishing house and the ministries of development, agriculture and education. A day of skindiving, fishing and swimming is sandwiched in and then we leave for home, arriving again in New York on Saturday, July 14, Bastille Day.

Ramparts

ISRAEL: SEPTEMBER 23 - OCTOBER 13, 1972

Developments since the 1967 war have created new politics in the State of Israel:

- . . . The struggle with Arab guerrillas, and the hardening of lines on the question of withdrawal have polarized the debate on how to reach an accomodation with the Arabs.
- . . . Incorporation of several hundred thousand Arabs into the Israeli economy (the occupied lands) have afforded Israel the first indications of what life might be like where both live together free of hostility.
- . . . A political movement of protest against the predominance of European Jewry in a state where the majority are Oriental Jews. This question is now linked with the issue of Soviet Jews -- in January of this year in Jerusalem Oriental Jews demanded an end to the immigration of Soviet Jews until job and housing discrimination could be ended for the orientals.

It is questions such as these that bring the Ramparts' tour to Israel at this particular moment. As with our tours to Chile and East Africa, the editors have selected a nation of particularly current interest, and designed an itinerary to permit each traveller an up-close look at the political economy, including visits with students, political leaders, labor unionists and journalists, plus tours of the historical riches that are Israel. Ramparts' good contacts assure the visitor an insider's view that no individual tourist could hope to match, and no commercial travel agency would bother to attempt. A good bit of the 21 day itinerary will of course be reserved for sight-seeing, for the purpose of our trip is twofold: mixing politics and pleasure.

The total cost is \$1,050 (from New York) for the twenty one days, including all air-fares, hotels, meals, tips, and transfers (and excluding airport taxes, passport and visa fees).

To reserve a space (the tour is limited to 20), send \$100 deposit to Ramparts Tours, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704. All fees must be paid by 30 days prior to departure, and cancellations after that 30 day deadline will result in cancellation fees of up to \$300 depending on our ability to cancel the hotels, or find a replacement for you.

We will fly on commercial airlines, and this price is based on 14-21 day GIT rates. If fewer than the required 15 tickets are sold, Ramparts reserves the right to cancel this tour and return immediately all monies paid.

Single occupancy hotel rooms cost an additional \$80.

TWENTY ONE DAYS IN ISRAEL Ramparts' Itinerary

Sept 23
Saturday Depart New York in p.m. aboard El Al Airlines.

Sunday Arrive Tel Aviv in a.m. Afternoon free for orientation and city tour.
Evening meeting with representative of Mapam, left socialist group

Monday Bus to Jerusalem in morning. Visit Knesset (parliament) in afternoon
and meet with representative of Siah (Israeli New Left opposition) in
evening.

Tuesday Tour Jerusalem, visit Hebrew University, Art Museum, Yad Vashem, and
the old city.

Wednesday Free day for independent sightseeing in Jerusalem.

Thursday Bus to occupied territory of West Bank. Overnight at Nablus, an Arab
Friday town. In morning meet with mayor and elected representatives of Arab
population, then onto Bethlehem for similar interviews.

Saturday Day free at Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee). Bring swimming suits.

Sunday Travel north to Golan Heights, stay overnight at a border kibbutz.

Monday Visit a socialist kibbutz in the Emek Yizrael, the northern agricultural
valley of Israel, meet with kibbutz members for discussions of the future
of socialism in Israel, the Arab-Israeli problem, etc.

Tuesday Bus to Haifa in a.m., tour steel foundry/ ⁱⁿ afternoon and meet with trade
unionists and rank-and-file members.

Wednesday Bus to Tel Aviv, meet with editors of Israeli newspapers and magazines,
students from Tel Aviv University, evening concert of Israeli Philharmonic.

Thursday Travel south through the Negev to Mt. Sinai. Tour area, climb the moun-
tain if you like.

Friday Travel to Eilat

Saturday Free days for swimming, diving, etc. at Eilat

Sunday

Monday Return to Jerusalem via visits to Dead Sea, Beer-Sheva

Tuesday

Wednesday Meetings in Jerusalem with representatives of Black Panthers and other

Thursday left opposition groups.

Friday Depart for New York

Oct 15

Ramparts

September 3 - 23

Russia and London: 21 days

This Ramparts' tour combines two weeks in the great cities and resorts of Russia, with a week in London. Included in the Russian itinerary are a number of events of political interest. Ramparts' editors have arranged this schedule through our good contacts with a view toward not only providing an insider's look into the Soviet Union, but also affording the traveller a pleasurable vacation among people of similar interests. This tour is offered only to the readers of Ramparts and a few other left/liberal journals, and is restricted in size to twenty people.

Moscow is culturally rich and of interest politically. We will devote only five days there however, in order to give proper time for Leningrad, described by some travellers as the greatest city for sightseeing in the entire world. Yalta is included as something of a diversion and a chance to see a Russian resort, Kiev is of interest for its history and Ukrainian folk festivals.

In London, we will visit the institutions just now of particular interests to many Americans: public health, and housing, but will leave most of the time open for independent travel and sightseeing.

The cost of this tour is \$760 from New York.* Travel is by Aeroflot aboard Illushin 2 jets. The price includes breakfast and dinner throughout Russia, only breakfast in London. Single room occupancy costs an additional \$60. Hotels are a step down from Hilton, but distinctly comfortable and by no means "modest" or "budget," etc.

Passports are needed, but no visas. It takes our State Department about 10 days to process a new passport application, even longer sometimes, so don't wait.

To reserve a space, send \$100 deposit to Ramparts, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley. The full cost is payable by August first. It is not possible to stay over in Europe for longer than the twenty one days planned here, because this price is based on 21 day group airfares. Well, yes it is possible, but it will cost you about \$300 more in airfares since you will have to fly 22-45 day excursion and pay for all the connecting little flights yourself (ours are paid for within the group rate).

Note: Our advertisement offered various departure dates this summer. By now Russia is sold out for the summer season, and this September departure is the earliest that we can hope for. Those of you intent upon going to Russia this summer at any cost should contact a travel agent for individual arrangements, but you will probably find there is just no hotel space anywhere.

Ramparts

Itinerary: Russia 16 days
London 6 days

- Day 1 Depart New York, via Aeroflot, non-stop for Moscow, leaving in PM
- Day 2 Arrive in mid afternoon, transfer to Hotel from Sheremetyevo Airport
Evening dinner with group at hotel.
- Day 3 Morning tour of city. Afternoon meet with students of Lenin University.
Evening symphony or other cultural events (optional)
- Day 4 Morning visit to the Soviet permanent exposition of space and industry
and agriculture. Afternoon visit to sports stadium.
- Day 5 Morning meeting with Institute of Soviet American Relations, afternoon
visit to trade union headquarters. Evening attend Bolshoi theatre.
- Day 6 Depart Moscow in Morning via Aeroflot for Leningrad. Arrive noon, spend
afternoon in general sightseeing.
- Day 7 Visit electronic manufacturing plant in morning, meet with Russian con-
struction engineers in afternoon and see film on destruction and rebuild-
ing of Leningrad after second world war.
- Day 8 Morning tour of Hermitage Museum, afternoon meeting with teacher's organi-
zation representative.
- Day 9 Morning excursion to Petrodvorets Park, afternoon free for independent
sightseeing.
- Day 10 Depart Leningrad via Aeroflot, arrive Simferopol in the Crimea. Transfer
by motorbus to Yalta on the Black Sea.
- Day 11-13 Sun and sand at Yalta, the Russian's number one vacation attraction.
- Day 14 Depart in afternoon for Kiev, via Aeroflot, the capital of the Ukraine.
Afternoon free in Kiev for sightseeing. Evening folk dance performance.
- Day 15 Sightseeing tour of city of Kiev.
- Day 16 Depart Kiev in morning, arrive Moscow, depart Moscow, arrive London in
early evening, aboard Aeroflot.
- Day 17 City tour of London in morning, afternoon visit to national health service.
Evening free for theatre, etc.
- Day 18-21 Days free for independent travel in England. Those preferring organized
political events will be accomodated with meetings and tours for these
two days. On the evening of the 21st day, we return to New York.

Ramparts

Scandinavia: 15 days in July
East Germany: 6 additional days

\$750 from New York, \$900 from Westcoast
Add \$200

Departure: Saturday, July 1

This tour is designed to do two things: provide an insider's look at Scandinavian social democracy, and afford a pleasurable vacation among people of like interests. Ramparts Magazine has utilized its good contacts to arrange an itinerary which includes both the expected sightseeing ingredient, plus an unusual variety of politically interesting tours and visits with informed Swedes and Danes. The tour will be conducted by Frank Browning, a former Ramparts' Editor and a frequent visitor to Scandinavia. Limited to 30 people, this tour has been offered only to readers of Ramparts and other left-liberal magazines.

Accommodations are comfortable but not Hiltonish, all rooms have private baths. Continental breakfast and dinners are included, as are all tips, transfers, and guides. Excluded are airport taxes, lunches.

Understanding Scandinavian social democracy requires understanding the politics of the labor movements. This aspect, and the social welfare system will be the focus of this tour, which as you will see from the itinerary (over) includes a good many visits with local people and institutions. None of these activities are required of course, but as our recent tours to Chile showed, most visitors will find the political dimension of the tour vital and will want to take advantage of this unusual opportunity.

The prices are: from New York \$750, from San Francisco or Los Angeles \$900. Single occupancy room charge is \$45. Airfares are GIT, which require us to have 15 people flying both ways together, so Ramparts reserves the right to cancel this tour if we don't get the 15 from each coast that we need.

To reserve a spot, send a \$100 deposit to Ramparts Magazine Trustee, 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704 now, and send the balance before June 2, 1972. that no one will worry about being stranded, none of the money gets disbursed (except for travel accommodations) until everyone is home again.

Everyone making reservation will receive additional information from Ramparts, including travel/tourist information and political background reading material. Passports but not visas are needed.

A third week in East Germany is available for an additional cost of \$200, which includes all meals, hotels, tips. This week will be devoted to seeing East and West Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden via motorcoach, with some visits arranged to factories and meetings with students and unionists. Much of this itinerary is now being arranged and more information can be sent you on request within the next four weeks.

Itinerary: Scandinavia 15 Days

- Day 1 Depart JFK Airport in PM
- Day 2 Arrive Bergen, Norway in morning, transfer to Fantoft Hotel. Afternoon free for sightseeing. Dinner with representative of Norwegian labor union organization.
- Day 3 Morning city tour by private bus, including King Haakon's Hall, Rosenkrantz Tower, Maria Church, wharfside shops and Edvard Grieg Concert Hall. Evening meeting with student of university for discussion of Norwegian politics.
- Days 4-5 Fjord tour. Leaving in the morning, we will travel along the shores of the Sør fjord across Kvamskogen, Mountain plateau, and through Tokagjelet Gorge to Øystese. Next morning, we continue to Gudvangen to board the fjord steamer and sail to Refsnes for the short motor trip to the Fjordstuen Hotel.
- Day 6 Drive across barren reindeer country and descend into the green Slidre Valley to Faernes, then on through farmland and forest to Oslo and the Studentbyen Summer Hotel.
- Day 7 Morning city tour of Oslo, including Akershus Fortress, the Royal Palace, the harbor, town hall and the Vigeland Sculpture Park. Lunch with Norwegian students, then afternoon free for independent sightseeing and visits to Kon-Tiki museum, fjord cruises, and visit to Norway Resistance Movement Museum, Ski Museum.
- Day 8 Fly to Stockholm via SAS Airlines. Transfer to Bromma Hotel. Dinner, meeting with a journalist for a critical introduction into the nature of social democracy in Sweden, evening attend concert.
- Day 9 Morning city tour of Stockholm, lunch with representative of the Stockholm Conference--the broad based coalition of organizations which has focussed world attention on the Indochina War for a decade. Afternoon visit a factory in Stockholm, meet with workers and union leaders.
- Day 10 Morning visit embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and meet for lunch with U. S. military deserters. Afternoon visit one of Sweden's famous open-door prisons and interview officials and prisoners.
- Day 11 Fly to Copenhagen, transfer to Bel Air Hotel. In afternoon, meet with spokesman of Danish left, evening attend guerrilla theatre performance in the streets.
- Day 12 Morning city tour of Copenhagen, including Rosenborg Palace, Grundtvig Church, the harbor. Lunch with representative of Danish anti-war group, afternoon free for independent sightseeing or swimming. Dinner with group at Tivoli Gardens, accompanied by Danish students.
- Day 13 Morning meeting with trade unionist, afternoon free for shopping, independent sightseeing or pursuing personal political interests.
- Day 14 Schedule open - probably visit a Danish hospital and housing development.
- Day 15 Afternoon departure for New York (arriving in evening) or transfer to train for trip to Gedser ferry which departs for Warnemunde & Berlin. 11*

RA
SAC, San Francisco (100-71157)

6/2/72

Acting Director, FBI ^{REC-106} (100-445393) — 181

1 - Mr. Floyd
1 - Mr. Druken

**"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - REV ACTS**

Reurlet and LHM dated 5/25/72, captioned "'Ramparts"
Magazine, IS - Subversive."

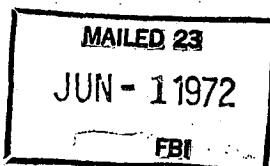
Referenced LHM contains information concerning
tours sponsored by captioned publication. These tours include
travel to Chile, East Africa, Israel, Russia, London,
Scandinavian countries, and East Germany.

A review of the literature in the enclosed LHM
concerning these proposed tours indicates that they are designed
to appeal to individuals who espouse the ideology of
revolutionary organizations. In view of the above, you should
immediately conduct investigation in an effort to determine
if, in fact, these proposed tours are consummated and determine
the identities of individuals participating in this travel.
In your investigation of this matter be guided by instructions
contained in the Manual of Instructions, Section 87E, pages
25 and 26.

Keep the Bureau and interested offices advised of
pertinent developments and future correspondence concerning
this matter should bear the above caption.

TPD:mcm (5)

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Mr. Kinley _____
Mr. Armstrong _____
Ms. Neenan _____
Mrs. Neenan _____



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DATE 7/21/85 BY *huc*

57 JUN 9 1972
MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RJS
Tpy

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

1 - Miss A. M. Butler
5/18/72

Acting Director, FBI (100-415762)

PUBLICATIONS HANDLED BY
RESEARCH SECTION

You are authorized to renew discreetly a one-year subscription to "Ramparts" for use of Bureau. Continue to forward issues of magazine on a regular, current basis, marked to attention of the Research Section, Domestic Intelligence Division.

Bureau should be advised 30 days prior to 1973 expiration to allow time to consider renewal.

1 - Revolutionary Activities Section (Route through for review)

1 - Mr. M. F. Row 6221 IB
① - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

AMB:cak
(7)

NOTE:

Renewal requested by SA [redacted] Revolutionary Activities Section, Domestic Intelligence Division. "Ramparts" magazine is subject of a current Bureau investigation and subscription should be renewed. Cost is \$8.50 a year for the monthly.

100-445393-

NOT RECORDED

28 MAY 19 1972

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DATE 7/4/80 BY [signature]

DUPLICATE YELLOW

223
6 MAY 19 1972

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-415762

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 6/9/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - REV ACTS

Re Bureau letter 6/2/72 captioned as above.

[REDACTED] Bank records would not be pertinent. Flight manifests for the particular date would not necessarily designate which of the passengers aboard were members of the tour. In any event, the air line utilized is foreign in each tour where it is designated, i.e., Aeroflot to Moscow, LAN Chile Airlines to Santiago.

UACB, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] San Francisco will, of course, remain alert for any information pertinent to these tours.

REC-114

100-445393-182

1cc 924 940

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco

RSB/see
(4)

JUN 12 1972

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DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, San Francisco (100-71157)

6/16/72

Acting Director, FBI (100-445393)

1 - Mr. Shackelford (FG)
1 - Mr. Floyd
1 - Mr. Druken

REC-129

EX-112
"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

ReBulet 6/2/72 and urlet to the Bureau 6/9/72
captioned as above.

The Bureau, in referenced letter, referred to tours sponsored by captioned publication to such countries as Chile, East Africa, Israel, Russia, London, the Scandinavian countries and East Germany. Bureau letter further observed that these proposed tours appeared to be designed to appeal to individuals who espouse the ideology of revolutionary organizations and instructed your office to immediately conduct investigation in an effort to develop pertinent information concerning these tours and the identities of individuals participating in them.

(U)

You indicated in your letter that your office has no sources in a position to furnish information concerning these tours and that a review of bank records would not assist in developing the desired information.

You are instructed to conduct logical investigation which might be of assistance in determining the identities of individuals participating in these tours. In this connection, a review of bank records, a canvass of travel agencies in the San Francisco area and contacts with other local Government agencies may produce pertinent information regarding these tours and the identities of individuals participating in them. In addition, the development of sources and informants on individuals connected with "Ramparts" would greatly assist in developing the desired information.

The above suggested investigative leads are not to be considered all inclusive and every effort should be made by your office to develop the desired data.

MAILED 21

JUN 15 1972

FBI

TPD:mem (6)

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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JUN 22 1972

Letter to San Francisco
RE:- "Ramparts" Magazine
100-445393

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As previously instructed in your investigation of this matter, be guided by instructions contained in the Manual of Instructions, Section 87D, pages 25 and 26. Keep the Bureau and interested offices advised of all pertinent developments.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 7/31/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

The June and July, 1972 issues of "Ramparts" have been forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover.

San Francisco will follow and report on future issues of "Ramparts".

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY huc

ST-111

REC-69 100-445393-183

16 AUG 4 1972

Rev. huc

2-Bureau (Encs. 5) (RM)

1-San Francisco AGENCY 2cc RAD (ESD)

SDA/ksb

(3)

6 AUG 14 1972

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

July 31, 1972

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

The June, 1972 issue of captioned magazine
contains the following articles:

" PERSPECTIVE

Electoral Politics: The Candidates Reply
by David Kolodney

ARGUMENT

Food [Stamp] Conspiracy;
No. That's Bankrupt Hippie Morality
by Sheldon Heuchler

Go Ahead. The Best Things In Life Are Free
by Robert Cratchit

How to Get Them

ESSAYS

Micronesian Memories: Paving Over Paradise
by Eric Treisman

The Great American Pension Machine
by Charles Leinenweber

Fat Cats and Democrats
by G. William Domhoff

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DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100 - 445 393 183

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

What's Left of the Black Left?
by Walt Thompson

Regulating the Phone Company in Your
Home

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

Lenny, You Meshugginah, You Can't Play
the Hero!
by Gene Marine

Records
by Dick Lupoff

Letters "

The July, 1972 issue of captioned magazine contains
the following articles:

" SURVIVAL NOTES

Uncle Bob
by Bob Cratchit

Ice Cream
by Jack Soltanoff

SUPPRESSION

How the Phone Company Interrupted
Our Service

DIALOGUE

Three Questions on China
by George Wald

The China Question and the American Left
by David Horowitz

ESSAYS

My Overthrow and Resistance
by Prince Norodom Sihanouk

I.Q. Tests: Building Blocks for the
New Class System
by Noam Chomsky

This Land is Their Land
by Larry Casalino

The Open Schoolroom: New Worlds for
Old Deceptions
by Jonathan Kozol

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

Janis Joplin: Death Watch
by Richard Lupoff

Records "

The masthead of the June issue reveals that Frank Browning was dropped as associate editor.

The masthead of the July issue reveals the following changes:

Robert Kaldenbach was changed from Publishing Consultant to Comptroller.

Pat Shell was checked from Copy Editor to Associate Editor.

Michael Anasara and Banning Garrett were dropped as Contributing Editors.

Nedd Takahashi and Joan Medlin were dropped as Editorial/Art Assistants.

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

Staff: The following were dropped from the Business

Carl Halpern - Business Manager

Judy Oringer - Administrative Assistant

John Giachino - Back Issues

Claudia Niles, Lloyd Price Richard Silberg,
and Ann Matlack, - Subscriptions Department

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Ramparts" in a letter to subscribers dated May 1, 1968, announced that beginning June 1, 1968, it would be published biweekly at a yearly subscription price of \$15. In this letter "Ramparts" described itself as follows: "...the first national publication to consistently reveal the ribbon of lies supporting America's involvement in Vietnam; we stripped the curtain from America's 'invisible government' by exposing CIA's unlicensed intrusion into our domestic lives; we dared to write about the applications of the Catholic Church's political power; we warned, years before the Kerner report, that white racism was the base of America's racial problems; we blasted away at the corroded institutions of Cold War liberalism.

" 'Ramparts' is now the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States..."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 3, 1972

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The "San Francisco Examiner", a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, California, in its issue of October 8, 1972, described "Ramparts" magazine as a radical muckraking national monthly published in Berkeley, California. "Ramparts" described itself as the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States.

The August, 1972, issue of captioned magazine contains the following articles:

Copy
"HARD TIMES

Classroom Surveillance by Kodak (12 years ahead of its time)
by Buddy Nevins

Damned Dams Stand; Plastic for Breakfast;
Who Pays Watt; Weatherwar: Uh, Kimosabe;
Catch as Catch Can; Safer Thoughts;
Don't Read This; Dita Room; Bear Eats Crow;
Sherrill Seeks His Pass

The Rolling Stones; Goodbye to All That
by Dick Lupoff

"PERSPECTIVE

Nixon's Vietnam Strategy:
How It Was Launched with the Aid of
Brezhnev and Mao and How the Vietnamese
Intend to Defeat It
by David Horowitz

"ESSAYS

The Prospects of the Vietnam Offense
by Tom Hayden

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY *me*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency nor duplicated within your agency.

100-445393-184
ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Lasers into Pruning Hooks:
Science for the People
by Maurice ~~Bazin~~

51 The Rising Cry for Justice

U.S. Electronic Espionage: A Memoir

"COMMENT

What's Left of the Black Left -
Part II
by Walt ~~Thompson~~

"CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

Records: Chuck Berry
by Dick Lupoff"

The September, 1972, issue of captioned magazine contains the following articles:

"PERSPECTIVE

McGovern and the Left: Time for
a Stand
by David ~~Kolodney~~

"HARD TIMES

Featuring:
Huey Newton's Revival Meeting in
Oakland
by Bo Burlingham

Unions Give Peace a Chance
by Staughton ~~Lynd~~

The Democrats: A Winning Strategy?
by Jim Ridgeway

"ESSAYS

Seoul's Hired Guns
by James ~~Otis~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Richard Plays Realtor in San
Clemente

by Robert ~~Fitch~~

Confronting Stalin's Ghost: The
Soviet Left Today

by Louis ~~Menashe~~

The Show the Pentagon Couldn't Stop

The Browning of Stockholm:
American Takes Its Ecology Show
Abroad

S by Barry ~~Weisberg~~

Thoughts of a Palestinian Exile

by Fawaz ~~Turki~~

"CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

Uncle Bob Tells Us About Small
Claims Court

by Bob ~~Cratchit~~

Elton John: Rocket Man Takes Off

by Dick ~~Lupoff~~

Review: Paternalistic Capitalism

S by Doug ~~Dowd~~

The October, 1972, issue of **captioned** magazine
contains the following articles:

"Nguyen Thai Binh, 1948-72

"Populism in Texas: The Amazing Grace
of Sissy Farenthold

by Harvey ~~Katz~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Phone Phreak-Out in Phun City
by Robert ~~Sherman~~

"Women
by Women's News Collective

"Poor Derek's Almanac
by Derek Shearer

"The Americanization of the
Persian Gulf
by Fred ~~Halliday~~

"The Diplomacy of Terror:
Behind the Decision to Bomb
the Dikes
51 by David ~~Landau~~

"Election '72
A Photo Essay by Peter Kenner

"'Oh, Sarge? He's a good soldier.'
by Jim Ridgeway

"How Clifford Irving Stole That Book:
An interview by Abbie ~~Hoffman~~

"Cracks in the Great Wall of Chinatown
by Min S. ~~Yee~~

"How to Vote for the Vietnamese
by Tom Hayden

"Soul In Africa
by J. K. ~~Obatala~~

"Just One More Time...Rod Stewart
by Dick Lupoff"

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The November, 1972, issue of captioned magazine contains the following articles:

"PERSPECTIVE

The Cruel Reconciliation
by David Horowitz

Notes on the Nixon Crisis: Yankees
and Cowboys
by Carl Oglesby

McGovern and the Military
by Richard F. Kaufman

"HARD TIMES

Japanese Colonialism in Appalachia
by James Ridgeway

The Indonesian Connection
by Steve Weissman

Women
by Women's News Collective

La Raza Unida Comes Together
by Rodrigo Reyes

"THE RAND PAPERS
Introduction

Behind the Policy Makers: RAND
and the Vietnam War
by David Landau

1. The Ikle Memorandum
2. The Viet Cong Motivation and
Morale Project

Looking Backward: RAND and Vietnam
in Retrospect
by Anthony Russo

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

War in the Back Pages
by Tom Oliphant

Capitalist Realism by Norman Rockwell
by Marshall Singer

"CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE"
Poor Derek's Almanac
by Derek Shearer

The Late Night Show from Munich:
A Review
by Peter Collier"

The masthead of the August, 1972, issue reveals that Peter Stone replaced Jay Odell as Advertising Manager on the Business Staff.

The masthead of the September, 1972, issue reveals the following changes:

~~Bo~~ Burlingham was added as Managing Editor. Ext

~~Frances~~ Lang was added as a Contributing Editor.

~~Ta Ta~~ Chook replaced ~~Elliot~~ Kanter as an Art Assistant.

~~Stephen~~ Johnson was added as Business Manager on the Business Staff.

The masthead of the October, 1972, issue reveals the following changes:

~~S~~ Peter Stone was added as an Editor, and ~~David~~ Kolodney, ~~Robert~~ Fitch, ~~James~~ Ridgeway, and ~~Sheila~~ Daar were dropped.

~~Stevie~~ Lipney replaced ~~Louisa~~ Kollenbaum as Art Director.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

6
12
57
15

72
5/86

184

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Peter Stone was dropped as Associate Editor, and Sheila Daar, David Kolodney, James Ridgeway, and Stanley K. Sheinbaum were added.

Derek Shearer and Jim Peck were added as Correspondents.

Howard Eige was added as an Art Assistant.

Norman Eisner was dropped as Publishing Consultant on the Business Staff. Jack Bodner and Randy Fingland were added to the Subscription Department of the Business Staff. Guy W. Shoup's title on the Business Staff was changed from Special Counsel to General Counsel.

Jim Peck and Andrew Kopkind were dropped as Contributing Editors. Robert Fitch, Richard Lupoff, and Joan Medkin were added as Contributing Editors.

The masthead of the November, 1972, issue reveals the following changes:

Michael Carlson was added as an Art Director. Elihu Blotnik and Howard Eige were dropped as Art Assistants.

Marc Stone was added to the Business Staff as Public Affairs Consultant. Paula Brown was added to the Business Staff in the Subscriptions Department.

Elihu Blotnick and Frank Browning were added as Contributing Editors.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 12/13/72

FROM : *Curb*
BB SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Re Bureau 01 to San Francisco dated 12/8/72, and
New York letter to San Francisco, dated 11/30/72.

The following investigation was conducted by SA
[REDACTED]

AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was contacted in an
attempt to ascertain any information concerning "Ramparts"
magazine. [REDACTED]

The following investigation was conducted by the
Los Angeles Division:

REC-71 100-445393

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
- 51 JAN 8 1973 (S-2)
- (6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY *huc*

Rev. 7/78 Sect.



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

30 DEC 18 1972

EXP. PROC.

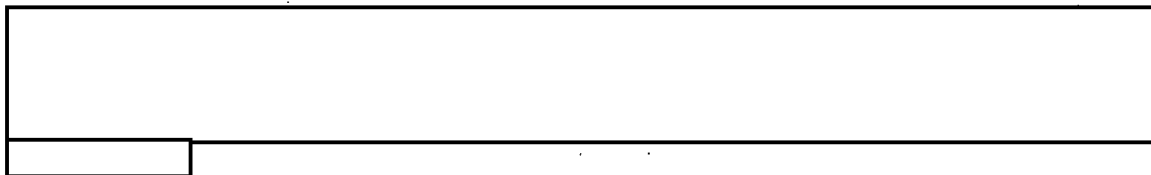
b6
b7C

#34

C+

19
8 1972

SF 100-71157
JNS/sjs



[redacted] stated that a tour would have to have a minimum of fifteen persons confirmed to make the flight profitable and inexpensive enough to attract individuals to join the tour. He further stated that no travel agency was involved as all business was conducted with the "Ramparts" office.

The following investigation was conducted by New York:

On 10/27/72, a confidential source in a position to furnish reliable information of this type, advised that passenger manifests for September, 1972, Aeroflot flights departing John F. Kennedy International Airport (JFKIA) are presently in transit from Pan American World Airways, JFKIA to Pan American World Airways Headquarters, New York, New York.

For information of New York, it is not possible to obtain the names of airlines sponsoring the East Africa and Scandinavia-East Germany tours.

LEADS

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Will continue attempts to determine identity of persons taking tours and the travel agency handling the tours on which the airline is identified.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 11/3/72

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

The August, September, October, and November, 1972, issues of "Ramparts" have been forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover.

San Francisco will follow and report on future issues of "Ramparts".

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter 4-14-76
Per FOIA Request b9p

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/21/80 BY [signature]
REC-106

ENCLOSURE

NOV 14 1972

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco
- JNS:mbw S-2
- (3)



5010-108-02

266
58 NOV 30 1972
BY RLS
DESTROYED

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 1/31/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

The December, 1972, January, and February, 1973, issues of "Ramparts" have been forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover.

San Francisco will follow and report on future issues of "Ramparts".

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY mc

ST-115 REC-14

100-445393-186

FEB 2 1973

② - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)

1 - San Francisco

JNS/pkv (S-2)

(3)

AGENCY 2-RAD (ISO)

DATE 2-7-73

BY R/S

SC/RN 100-9240

100 DESTROYED

59 FEB 12 1973

FEB 2 1973

Rev. Act. Sect.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

January 31, 1973

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The "San Francisco Examiner", a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, California, in its issue of October 8, 1972, described "Ramparts" magazine as a radical muck raking national monthly published in Berkeley, California. "Ramparts" described itself as the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States.

The December, 1972, issue of captioned magazine contains the following articles:

"HARD TIMES

Spooking the Spooks: The Victor Marchetti Story
by James Otis

Women

by Women's News Collective

Money and Politics: The Good Fortune of the
Franklin Mint

by James Ridgeway

Poor Derek's Almanac

by Derek Shearer

Bankamerilib: Can Lynda Bird be Liberated?

by Sheila Daar

FOREIGN REPORT

Marcos and the Philippines

by Stephen Hart

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DATE 7/2/80 BY me

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100-445393-186

ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

ESSAYS

Conversation with Steelmill Rebels

by Staughton Lynd

Who Goes Begging in America?

by Richard Parker

Racism in the Counterculture

by Jonathan Kozol

Kissinger: The Swinging Sphinx

by Francine du Plessix Gray

Alcatraz is Not an Island

by Richard Oakes

The Only Good Indian...

by Peter Collier

Signs

by Van Schley

CULTURE/COUNTER CULTURE

Gerald Hanley: An Irishman in Africa

by Judy Stone

Consciousness as a Commodity

by R. G. Davis

Munich on \$40 Million a Day

by Ted Brock

Records

by Dick Lupoff"

The January, 1973, issue of captioned magazine
contains the following articles:

"PERSPECTIVE

Who Really Lost the Election?

by Bo Burlingham

HARD TIMES

Bury My Heart on the Potomac: Indians at the BIA

by Eugene L. Meyer

FOREIGN REPORT

Haiti: Jean-Claude's New Black Magic

by Fred Halliday

Six Lessons in Underdevelopment

Cartoons by Claudius Ceccon

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

ESSAYS

Slow Leak in the Pentagon

by Terry Pollack

Soldier

A Memoir by Anthony B. Herbert with James T. Wooten
Down Those Mean Streets: The Framing of Carlos
Feliciano

by Jose Yglesias

Nitanic

A Poem by Ericka Huggins

The Mideast: Dark at the End of the Tunnel

by Noam Chomsky

The Radical Philatelist: Robert Fried

by Paul Krassner

Fizzle in the Lake

by Ngo Vinh Long

Poor Derek's Almanac

by Derek Shearer"

The February, 1973, issue of captioned magazine
contains the following articles:

"Baba Ram Dass: The Metamorphic Journey of
Richard Alpert

A Personal interview by Sara Davidson

The journey began at Harvard with a faculty
buddy named Tim Leary. From Cambridge it led to
Millbrook, the invention of new drugs and Nowhere.
Finally, the journey took Alpert to an ashram in
the Himalaya where, reborn as Baba Ram Dass,
Richard Alpert learned Buddha's Four Noble Truths.
Ram Dass' first interview in two years. Namaste.
Here and Now.

Uncommon Sense

A column by Brit Hume

De Mau Mau:

Fast Eddie's Last Draw

A report by Martin Weston

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Ethiopia: Whose Kingdom Come?

A foreign report
by John Moorehead

TPF: Driving the Snakes
Out of Boston

A grassroots report by Craig Unger

The Freedom Trail in Boston bypasses Dorchester. So does just about everything else, including jobs, housing and justice. TPF—which stands for The People First (and Tactical Police Force)—is a broad-based community organization trying to improve things, like housing, jobs and disbarring a greasy eminence named Judge Jerome P. Troy.

The Selling Out of the
Candidate: 1972

An essay by Tom Oliphant

Looking Backward:

The Sixties and The Movement

A personal retrospective
by Andrew Kopkind

What route connects Port Huron, Woodstock, and Attica? Selma, Altamont and Eleventh Street? Orangeburg, Kent State and Columbia? Where did the roads start and where have they brought us?

Breakfast of Champions

From the new novel

by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

Illustrations by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

'This book,' Vonnegut writes, 'is my fiftieth birthday present to myself. I feel as though I am crossing the spine of a pitched roof—having ascended one slope. I am programmed at fifty to perform childish—to insult 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' to scrawl pictures of a Nazi flag and an asshole and a lot of other things with a felt-tipped pen...'

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The Second Coming
of Monti Rock, III

A personality by Bill Cardoso

Monti Rock, III, the once and several times darling of the New York media, is the greatest living example of the 'human pseudo-event'—a person who is well-known for being well-known. He parlayed his fame into \$2 million and blew it all. Self-described as a 'spick faggot bi-sexual gay from the East Bronx,' Monti is now in Haw-lee-wood rebuilding his image and his fortune.

The Almanac

A bibliography by Derek Shearer

The Hair Piece

History by Irving Wallace

John Prine's Blue Collar Blues

A review by William Klonan

With songs about suicide, masturbation and lonely fat girls named Lydia, set to melodies that could be mistaken for hymns, a 26-year-old former mailman named John Prine warbles a kind of populist social realism."

The masthead of the December, 1972, issue listed the following staff:

"EDITORS

Bo Burlingham (Managing)

Peter Collier/David Horowitz

Peter Stone

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Sheila Daar/David Kolodney

James Ridgeway/Stamley K. Sheinbaum

Pat Shell

ART DIRECTORS

Michael Carlson/Stevie Lipney

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

ASSISTANT EDITOR
Elliot Kanter

CORRESPONDENTS
Jim Peck/Derek Shearer

ART STAFF
Diane Coleman
Robert Foothorap (Photography)
Stephen Shames (Photography)
Ta Ta Chook

BUSINESS STAFF
Robert Kaldenbach (Comptroller)
Bruce Stilson (General Counsel)
Marc Stone (Public Affairs Consultant)
Peter Stone (Advertising Manager)
Don Weinecke (Advertising)
Doug Wheatley (Circulation Manager)
Jack Bodner, Paula Brown,
Randy Fingland (Subscriptions)
Guy W. Shoup (General Counsel)

CONTRIBUTORS
Michael Ansara, Elihu Blotnick,
Frank Browning, Peter Buckman,
Emile deAntonio, Robert Fitch,
John Gerassi, Art Goldberg, Karl Hess,
Andrew Kopkind, Frances Lang,
Sandra Levinson, Richard Lupoff
Joan Medlin, Marcus Raskin, Jim Rowen,
Daniel Schechter, Jack Scott,
Sol Stern, William Turner,
Maurice Zeitlin"

The masthead of the January, 1973, issue listed the following staff:

"EDITORS
Bo Burlingham (Managing)
Peter Collier /David Horowitz
Peter Stone/Min Yee (Managing)

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Sheila Daar/David Kolodney
James Ridgeway/Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Pat Shell

ART DIRECTORS

Michael Carlson/Stevie Lipney

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Elliot Kanter

CORRESPONDENTS

Jim Peck/Derek Shearer

ART STAFF

Diane Coleman
Robert Foothorap (Photography)
Stephen Shames (Photography)
Ta Ta Chook

BUSINESS STAFF

Bruce Stilson (General Counsel)
Marc Stone (Public Affairs Consultant)
Peter Stone (Advertising Manager)
Betty Van Patter (Administrative Assistant)
Don Wienecke (Advertising)
Doug Wheatley (Circulation Manager)
Jack Bodner, Paula Brown,
Randy Fingland, Anne Matlack
(Subscriptions)
Guy W. Shoup (Special Counsel)
Robert Kaldenbach, Norman Eisner
(Publishing Consultants)

CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Ansara, Elihu Blotnick,
Frank Browning, Peter Buckman,
Emile deAntonio, Robert Fitch,
John Gerassi, Art Goldberg, Karl Hess,
Andrew Kopkind, Frances Lang,
Sandra Levinson, Richard Lupoff
Joan Medlin, Marcus Raskin, Jim Rowen,
Daniel Schechter, Jack Scott,
Sol Stern, William Turner,
Maurice Zeitlin"

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The masthead of the February, 1973, issue listed the following staff:

"MANAGING EDITORS
Bo Burlingham, Min S. Yee

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR
Pat Shell

ASSISTANT EDITOR
Elliot Kanter

WASHINGTON EDITOR
Brit Hume

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
David Landau, Derek Shearer

ART DIRECTOR
Michael Carlson

SPECIAL EFFECTS
Don Battershall, Jane Gottlieb

ART STAFF
Asst. Director—Diane Coleman
Ta Ta Chook

STAFF PHOTOGRAPHERS
Alan Copeland
Robert Foothorap
Stephen Shames

BUSINESS STAFF
Advertising Director—Peter Stone
Don Wienecke
Public Affairs Director—David Obst
Circulation Manager—Doug Wheatley
Jack Bodner
Paula Brown
Randy Fingland
Anne Matlack

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Administrative Assistant—Betty Van Patter
General Counsel—Bruce Stilson
Special Counsel—Guy W. Shoup

PUBLISHING CONSULTANTS
Robert Kaldenbach, Norman Eisner"

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 1/31/73

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS-RA

On 12/1/72, a confidential source, in a position to furnish reliable information of this type, advised that passenger manifests for September, 1972 Aeroflot flights departing John F. Kennedy International Airport (JFKIA) would reflect only the names of passengers on each flight. Tour affiliations are not indicated.

On 12/29/72, [redacted] Group Tour Department, El Al Airlines, 850 Third Avenue, New York, New York, advised that no tours were scheduled on El Al to depart New York on 9/23/72. She advised that there was no record of any tours made during September, 1972 sponsored by Ramparts Magazine.

b6
b7C

On 1/29/73, an unidentified female at Lan Chile Airlines, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York was contacted and advised that Lan Chile Airlines handled tours of Chile sponsored by Ramparts Magazine which departed New York City on 6/17/72 and 8/5/72. She stated that the only way that passenger manifests for these tours could be obtained would be to contact [redacted] telephone number [redacted]

[redacted] This woman would not provide [redacted] nor would she identify herself.

LEAD

MIAMI

SI-114

REC-73

100-445393-187

AT MIAMI, FLORIDA - Will contact [redacted] telephone [redacted] and attempt to secure passenger manifests for Ramparts Magazine tours

1-9294D
2-Bureau (RM)

2-Miami (RM)

2-San Francisco (100-71157) (RM)

1-New York

54 FEB 7 1973

(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [redacted]

21 FEB 5 1973



NY 157-1300

NON-SYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Confidential source is:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(by request).

b6
b7C
b7D

CAUTION: NOT TO BE DISSEMINATED TO RESIDENT AGENCIES-DETACH

NY 157-1300

LEAD (Continued)

of Chile, via Lan Chile Airlines, which departed New York City on 6/17/72 and 8/5/72, and will furnish results of investigation to San Francisco Division.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 2/21/73

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (100-17638) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Re New York letter to Bureau, 1/31/73. ^{per 187}

Enclosed for the Bureau, New York, and San Francisco offices are one copy each of "Unofficial" passenger lists for 6/17/72 and 8/5/72, respectively, Lan Chile flights from Kennedy International Airport, New York City to Santiago, Chile, and other points.

On 2/15/73 [redacted] Lan Chile Airlines, Traffic Department, 150 S.W. 2nd Avenue, Miami, Florida, furnished what he described as "unofficial" passenger lists for Lan Chile flights from Kennedy International Airport, New York City, on 6/17/72 and 8/5/72. He said that his unofficial passenger lists do not indicate that the flights on these dates include tour flights to Santiago, Chile, sponsored by Ramparts Magazine. However, he continued, there is only one Lan Chile flight daily from Kennedy International Airport. This flight stops at Miami, Florida; Panama; Peru; and Argentina, as well as at Santiago, Chile.

[redacted] said that the official passenger manifests for the 6/17/72 and 8/5/72 flights are located at the Kennedy International Airport, New York City, Office of Lan Chile, telephone 995-6961, or at the Kennedy International Airport office of Iberia Airlines, telephone 995-6962. He explained that Iberia Airlines handles Lan Chile passenger and cargo services out of Kennedy International Airport, Lan Chile having no terminal or boarding space of its own at that airport. [redacted] noted that the official passenger manifests presumably would coincide with the unofficial 6/17/72

EX-109 REC-49/100-445393-188

- ② - Bureau (Enc. -2) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc. -2) (157-1300) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (Enc. -2) (100-71157) (RM)
1 - Miami
FEG:ajv
(7)

58 MAR 2 1973

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/84 BY [signature]



MM 100-17638

passenger list furnished by him, but that the 8/5/72 unofficial list furnished by him contains passenger surnames only, whereas the official manifest would contain surname and given name of each passenger. He added that the official passenger manifest would contain no passenger data other than surname and given name.

It is noted that passengers destined for Santiago, Chile, on enclosed 6/17/72 unofficial manifest are those shown under "Santiago", from [redacted]

[redacted] At the bottom of this manifest is a "no shows" section. The [redacted] listed therein had a reservation for the flight to Santiago but failed to board the plane. Seemingly, the unofficial manifest for 8/5/72, surnames only, shows passengers to Chile under "Santiago". The surnames begin with [redacted] and end with [redacted]. Under the "no shows" for the Santiago flight are [redacted] and [redacted].

Referenced letter did not show office of origin. It is assumed that San Francisco is office of origin. If enclosures are not sufficient coverage of this lead, San Francisco should direct New York to obtain official passenger manifests for pertinent dates from Lan Chile or Iberia Airlines, Kennedy International Airport, NYC, per above.

BACK OF PAGE

100-445393-188

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 3/28/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Re Miami letter to Bureau, 2/21/73.

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will contact office of Iberia Airlines, Kennedy International Airport, and obtain surname and given name of Rampart tour passengers flying Chile flights on 8/5/72.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY [signature]

ST-105

REC 27

100-445393-189

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 - 2 - New York (157-1300) (RM)
 - 2 - San Francisco
- JNS/kle
(6)

APR 2 1973



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393) DATE: 5/31/73

FROM : *CWB* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-71157) (P)
CB

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - RA

Enclosed for the Bureau are five (5) copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. The March, April, May and June, 1973, issues of "Ramparts" have been forwarded to the Bureau under separate cover.

San Francisco will follow and report on future issues of "Ramparts".

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter 4-14-76
Per FOIA Request *b9p*

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/11 BY luc

ST-105

INTELLIGENCE DIV
REC-17
RECEIVED

2 - Bureau (Encl 5) (RM)
2 - San Francisco
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(4) S2

21 JUN 4 1973



5010-108-02

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

May 31, 1973

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

The "San Francisco Examiner", a daily newspaper published in San Francisco, California, in its issue of October 8, 1972, described "Ramparts" magazine as a radical muck raking national monthly published in Berkeley, California. "Ramparts" described itself as the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States.

The March, 1973, issue of captioned magazine contained the following articles:

"Uncommon Sense"

A perspective by Brit Hume

"Peace Is at Hand"

A perspective by David Landau

"The Almanac"

A bibliography by Derek Shearer

"Spooks on Parade"

An account by James Otis

"The Most Loathsome Man in the Senate"

A profile by Harry Stein

"Cosmopolitan: The Feminine Plastique"

An essay by Robin Reisig

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11/21/80 BY *me*

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393-190
ENCLOSURE

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"ITT's Geneen: How To Succeed in Business by Really Trying"

A profile by William Rodgers

"The View from Tel Aviv and Beirut"

A special report from the Middle East by Paul Jacobs

"Confessions of a Number One Son"

A personal essay by Frank Chin

"Gay Rock: The Boys in the Band" ✓

A report by Andrew Kopkind

The April, 1973, issue of captioned magazine contained the following articles:

"LBJ: The Last Roundup" ✓

A post-mortem by Andrew Kopkind

"Disability Pay: The Check at the End of the Tunnel"

An investigative report by Mark Mc Intyre

"The Legacy of Amilcar Cabral"

An appreciation by Gerard Chaliand

"A Matter of Life and Death: The Scandalous Conditions at Boston City Hospital"

An expose by Jonathan Kozol

"Endgame: The Tactics of Peace in Vietnam"

An analysis by Noam Chomsky

"A Modest Proposal: On Increasing Respect for the Presidency"

Art and Satire by Edward Sorel and Kirkpatrick Sale

--- "Death on the Yard: The Untold Killings at Soledad & San Quentin"

Excerpts from a book by Min S. Yee

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Confessions of a Single Mother"
A personal protest by Susan Griffin

"Year One of the Russian Revolution"
A review by Tamara Deutscher

"The Almanac"
A bibliography by Derek Shearer

The May, 1973, issue of captioned magazine
contained the following articles:

"The American POWs
Their Glory Is All Moonshine"
A perspective by Ngo Vinh Long

"The War on Poverty: Nixon Pulls Out"
A report by James Ridgeway

"Locked Out: Our Last Days at OEO"
A personal case history by Tom Mack and
Tim Hoffman

"Beware of Greeks Making Odds"
A profile by Min S. Yee

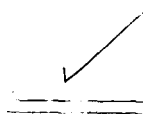
"The Selling of the Lord, 1973"
An investigation by Eugene L. Meyer

"Revolutionary Suicide: My Days in Solitary"
A memoir by Huey P. Newton

"Last Tango in Buenos Aires"
An on-the-scene report by Jose Yglesias

"A Gallery of Unlikely Occurrences"
Cariacatures by Edward Sorel and Kirkpatrick
Sale

"Turning On: The Scientific Method"
A report by Andrew Kopkind



"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"The Almanac"
Resources by Derek Shearer

"Brave, New Cities"
A review by Thomas Morton

The June, 1973, issue of captioned magazine
contained the following articles:

"Prisoners and Patriots: Adventures in the
P. O. W. Trade"
A personal perspective by Cora Weiss

"The Chilean Experiment
Revolution in the Countryside?"
A report by Jose Yglesias

"Ruchell Magee: The Defense Never Rests"
A report by Alexandra Close

"Wounded Knee: The New Indian War"
An interpretive report by Peter Collier

"How the U. S. Went Bankrupt"
An analysis by Terence Mc Carthy

"A vegetarian Manifesto"
A statement by Frances Moore Lappe

"Beefed Up: Drugs in the Meat Industry"
An investigative report by Daniel Zwerdling

"The Old Left and The New"
A review essay by David Horowitz

"Women's Fiction: Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?"
A review by Elizabeth Fishel

"Almanac"
Resources by Derek Shearer

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

"Reggae: The Steady Rock of Black Jamaica"
A report by Andrew Kopkind

The masthead of the March, 1973, issue listed the following staff:

EDITORIAL BOARD

~~Bo Burlingham - Managing~~
~~Peter Collier~~ (U)
~~David Horowitz~~
~~Brit Hume - Washington~~
~~David Obst~~
~~Peter Stone~~
~~Min S. Yee - Managing~~

ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR
~~Pat Shell~~

ASSISTANT EDITOR
~~Elliot Kanter~~

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
~~Tom Zeman~~

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
~~David Landau~~
~~Derek Shearer~~

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
~~Sheila Daar~~
~~David Kolodney~~
~~James Ridgeway~~
~~Stanley K. Sheinbaum~~

ART STAFF
~~Michael Carlson~~
~~Diane Coleman~~
~~Ta Ta Chook~~

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Calif.
BUSINESS STAFF

~~Peter Stone~~ - Advertising Director

~~Doug Wheatly~~ - Circulation Manager

~~Jack Dedner~~

~~Randy Ringland~~

~~Anne Matlack~~

~~Betty Van Petter~~ - Administrative Assistant

~~Bruce Stilson~~ - General Counsel

~~Guy W. Shoup~~ - Special Counsel

PUBLISHING CONSULTANTS

~~Robert Kaldenbach~~

~~Norman Eisner~~

The masthead of the April, 1973, issue listed the following staff:

EDITORIAL BOARD

Bo Burlingham - Managing

Peter Collier

David Horowitz

David Obst

Peter Stone

Min S. Yee - Managing

EDITORIAL STAFF

Elliot Kanter - Assistant Editor

Tom Zeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Brit Hume - Washington

David Landau

Derek Shearer

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Sheila Daar

David Kolodney

James Ridgeway

Stanley K. Sheinbaum

Calif.
ART STAFF

~~Don Battershall~~

Diane Coleman

Ta Ta Chook

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

BUSINESS STAFF

Peter Stone - Advertising Director
Doug Wheatley - Circulation Manager
Jack Bodner
Randy Fingland
Betty Van Patter - Administrative Assistant
Bruce Stilson - General Counsel
Guy W. Shoup - Special Counsel

PUBLISHING CONSULTANTS

Robert Kaldenbach
Norman Eisner

The masthead of the May, 1973, issue listed the following staff:

EDITORIAL BOARD

Bo Burlingham - Managing
Peter Collier
David Horowitz
David Obst
Peter Stone
Min S. Yee - Managing

EDITORIAL STAFF

Elliot Kanter - Assistant Editor
Tom Zeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Brit Hume - Washington
David Landau
Derek Shearer

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Sheila Daar
David Kolodney
James Ridgeway
Stanley K. Sheinbaum

ART STAFF

Don Battershall
Diane Coleman
Ta Ta Chook

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

BUSINESS STAFF

Peter Stone - Advertising Director
Doug Wheatley - Circulation Manager
Jack Bodner
Randy Fingland
Anne Matlack
Betty Van Patter - Administrative Assistant
Bruce Stilson - General Counsel
Guy W. Shoup - Special Counsel

PUBLISHING CONSULTANTS

Robert Kaldenbach
Norman Eisner

The masthead of the June, 1973, issue listed the following staff:

EDITORIAL BOARD

Bo Burlingham - Managing
Peter Collier
David Horowitz
Peter Stone
Min S. Yee - Managing

EDITORIAL STAFF

Elliot Kanter - Assistant Editor
Tom Zeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Brit Hume - Washington
David Landau
Derek Shearer

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Sheila Daar
David Kolodney
David Obst
James Ridgeway
Stanley K. Sheinbaum

ART STAFF

Don Battershall
Diane Coleman
Ta Ta Chook

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

BUSINESS STAFF

Peter Stone - Advertising Director

Doug Wheatley - Circulation Manager

Jack Bodner

Randy Fingland

Anne Matlack

Betty Van Patter - Administrative Assistant

Bruce Stilson - General Counsel

Guy W. Shoup - Special Counsel

PUBLISHING CONSULTANTS

Robert Kaldenbach,

Norman Eisner

1 - Miss A. M. Butler

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

5/4/73

Acting Director, FBI (100-418762)

Can
PUBLICATIONS HANDLED BY
IS-3 SECTION

You are authorized to renew discreetly a one-year subscription to "Ramparts" for use of Bureau. This subscription should be followed closely to insure that Bureau receives each issue of magazine as published. Because of the timely articles appearing in this magazine, the necessity for receipt of issues on a current basis is apparent. Continue to mark issues of magazine to attention of IS-3 Section, Intelligence Division.

Advise Bureau 30 days prior to 1974 expiration to allow time to consider renewal.

In the event "Ramparts" is sold and relocated, Bureau should be advised immediately.

1 - IS-2 Section (Route through for review)

1 - Mr. M. F. Roy (6221 IB)

① - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

b6
b7C

AMB:bkg
(7)

NOTE:

Renewal requested by SA IS-2 Section, INTD. "Ramparts," revolutionary-type magazine, is of interest to personnel in the IS-2 Section. Annual cost is \$9.50 for the monthly. An article appearing in "National Review," 10/27/72, page 1158, indicated that

100-445393-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 11/21/00 BY PUC NOT RECORDED

180 MAY 7 1973

MAY 9 1973
FBI

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-415762-12713

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 8/21/73	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/19/73 - 8/17/73
TITLE OF CASE "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE		REPORT MADE BY <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	TYPED rv b6 b7C
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - RA	

28
REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to San Francisco, 6/12/73.

- C -

ADMINISTRATIVE

11

 are ADEX subjects of the San Francisco Division.

This report is not classified.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/21/85 BY *huc*

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
CONVIC.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	
				PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED *Curb* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

⑤ - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)

2 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-71157)
(1 - 100-67090)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ISS	SLU		
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	8/28/73			
How Fwd.	066	0-6		
By	ELC	REP		

Notations

2
PRIVATE

SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

PREDICATION

"The current investigation is based upon information that 'Ramparts' magazine issue of 6/73 identified BO BURLINGHAM as being on the Editorial Board of this magazine, with the additional notation of 'Managing'. Sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have advised that [REDACTED] b6 b7C

[REDACTED]

Information has been received that leaders of the Weatherman organization may be in violation of Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), and 2385 (Advocating the Overthrow of the Government). The Weatherman organization in its public statements and publications advocates the desirability and necessity of overthrowing the U.S. Government by force or violence. This investigation is being conducted to determine whether those responsible for publishing 'Ramparts' magazine advocate subversion, violence or violations of law within FBI jurisdiction."

The extent that [REDACTED] has influence over editorial policies is not known, however, the present contents do not advocate revolution or violence.

Pretext call to the business offices of "Ramparts" on 7/25/73 was made by SA [REDACTED] Pretext used was that of a student doing research work.

A review of the July and August/September issues of "Ramparts" shows no articles which have subversive content, which advocate violence, or violations within FBI jurisdiction.

The contents of "Ramparts" do not meet the criteria for investigation. In view of the above, this case is being placed in a closed status, UACB. San Francisco believes that because "Ramparts" is a nationally circulated magazine, any future advocacy of revolution or violence will be readily apparent and this matter could be re-opened.

Individuals mentioned in this report concerning whom characterizations are not included are those on whom insufficient identifying data was available from which a characterization could be constructed, or where identifying data was insufficient to properly identify.

SF 100-71157

JNS:rv

Search of San Francisco indices reflected the following information regarding the editors, staff, and contributing authors of "Ramparts":

[redacted] is possibly identical to [redacted]
SF File 100-60674, Bufile 100-456061.

b6
b7C

[redacted] is possibly identical to [redacted]
SF File 100-65846, Bufile 105-204597.

[redacted] is identical to [redacted]
SF File 100-58548, Bufile 100-466603.

[redacted] is identical with [redacted]
SF File 100-74276, Bufile 105-223573.

[redacted] is identical to [redacted]
SF File 100-58266, Bufile 100-449399.

[redacted] is possibly identical to [redacted]
SF File 100-52846, Bufile 100-441461
SF File 100-61843, Bufile 100-452104.

[redacted] is possibly identical to [redacted]
SF File 100-45535, Bufile 100-401403.

[redacted] is identical to [redacted]
SF File 65-5434, Bufile 62-106323.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1
(See non-symbol
source page)

Instant file

SF T-2
(See non-symbol
source page)

Instant file

SF T-3 is

[redacted]

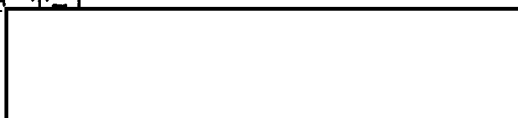
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SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

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NONSYMBOL SOURCE PAGE

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(by request)

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SF T-2

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(by request)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

8/21/73

Office: SAN FRANCISCO, CA.

b6
b7c

Field Office File #:

100-71157

Bureau File #: 100-445393

Title:

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY -
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Synopsis: "Ramparts" magazine is published by Noah's Ark, Inc., and printed by Madallion Printing and Litho. "Ramparts" employs 15 persons in Berkeley, CA. Circulation is 40,000 through mail and total circulation is 100,000. August and September issues were combined into one issue due to shortage of newsprint. Editors, staff, and contributing authors are set forth.

- C -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/80 BY hac

SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

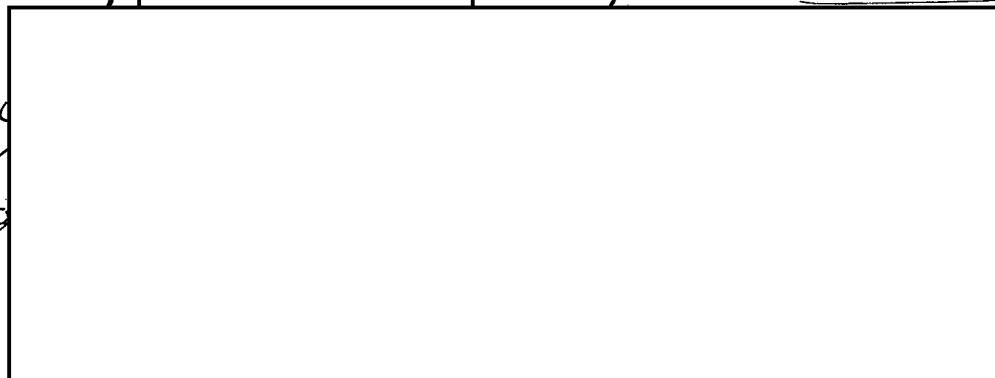
DETAILS:

I. OPERATIONAL ASPECTS

A source advised that "Ramparts" is printed by Madallion Printing and Litho, Los Angeles, California. Circulation of "Ramparts" is 40,000 by mail. August issue was not printed due to a shortage of newsprint. ✓

~~SF T-1~~
~~7/3/73~~

On July 25, 1973, under a suitable pretext to the business offices of "Ramparts" magazine, an unidentified female advised "Ramparts" is published by Noah's Ark, Inc., 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California. Noah's Ark is the company name for all business related to "Ramparts". Circulation of "Ramparts" is approximately 100,000 and it is circulated internationally. "Ramparts" is not being sold and it is not being moved to Washington, D.C. The article in "National Review" issue of October 27, 1972 was a rumor. The headquarters for "Ramparts" is located at 2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California. The Managing Editor is BO BURLINGHAM. The August and September issues will be combined into one issue and will be on the newsstands by August 15, 1973. "Ramparts" is self supporting from subscriptions, newsstand, and advertising. On rare occasions, it receives donations. There are fifteen (15) employees at the headquarters in Berkeley, California. It has also published books in the past, but this has not been done for some time. It is printed in Los Angeles, California. ✓



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b7c

Weatherman, formerly a faction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), controlled the SDS National Office from June, 1969, until

SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

its closing in February, 1970. Weatherman then entered an underground status and adopted a tactic of "strategic sabotage", with police and military installations designated as primary targets.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded during June, 1962, at Port Huron, Michigan, and in the 1960s functioned as the leading New Left campus-based student organization in the United States. From an initial posture of "participatory democracy", SDS moved to a radical-revolutionary position, with debate centering on how best to create a revolutionary youth movement. Internal factionalism produced a split during the SDS National Convention in June, 1969, which resulted in the following three factions: Weatherman; Worker Student Alliance (WSA); and Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). The Weatherman and RYM are no longer affiliated with SDS. The WSA continues to use the name SDS and maintains its national headquarters in Chicago, Illinois.

A source advised that the following company is the printer for "Ramparts" books:

COLONIAL PRESS
1341 N. MAIN
WALNUT CREEK, CALIFORNIA

SF T-2,
7/31/73

II. EDITORS AND STAFF

A. Masthead of the July Issue of "Ramparts".

1. Editorial Board

BOB BURLINGHAM - Managing

DAVID HOROWITZ

SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

[redacted]
[redacted] date of birth [redacted]
[redacted]

b6
b7C

PETER STONE

MIN S. YEE

2. Editorial Staff

~~ELLIOT KANTER~~ - Assistant Editor

~~PEGGY GOLDEN~~

~~TOM ZEMAN~~

3. Contributing Editors

~~BRIT HUME~~

~~ANDREW KOPKIND~~

~~DEREK SHEARER~~

4. Associate Editors

~~SHEILA DAAR~~

~~DAVID KOLODNEY~~ born [redacted]

The November 10, 1965 issue of the "Daily Californian", student newspaper at the University of California at Berkeley, had listed DAVID KOLODNEY as a graduate student in Philosophy and a member of the Free Speech Movement Executive Committee, who was one of 18 graduate students who declared themselves as members of the Graduate Coordinating Committee to reform the student Government.

[redacted] born [redacted]

[redacted] was one of 780 persons arrested at University of California, Berkeley, on December 3, 1964, in connection with the sit-in at Sproul Hall, which was known as the Free Speech Movement.

~~DAVID OBST~~

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

~~JAMES RIDGEWAY~~

5. Art Staff

~~DON BATTERSHALL~~

~~DIANE COLEMAN~~

~~STEFUNNY VESH~~

~~TA TA CHOOK~~

6. Business Staff

ROBERT KALDENBACH - Controller

PETER STONE - Advertising Director

~~RANDY FINGLAND~~ - Circulation Manager

~~JACK BODNER~~

~~ANNE MATLACK~~

~~BETTY VAN PATTEN~~ - Administrative Assistant

~~BRUCE STILSON~~ - General Counsel

~~GUY W. SHOUP~~ - Special Counsel

~~NORMAN EISNER~~ - Publishing Consultant

B. Masthead of the August/September issue of "Ramparts".

The Masthead of the August/September issued was identical with the July issue, with the following exceptions:

BRIT HUME was dropped as one of the Contributing Editors.

MIN S. YEE was switched from Editorial Board to Contributing Editors.

SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

CG 1/4
JAMES ~~RIDGEWAY~~ was switched from Associate Editors to ~~Contributing~~ Editors.

STEFUNNY ~~ALESH~~ was dropped from the Art Staff.

JAY ~~ODELL~~ was added to the business staff.

III. AUTHORS

A. Contributing Authors in July Issue of "Ramparts".

CG 1/4
DAN ~~SCHWARTZ~~

EDWARD ~~ZUCKERMAN~~

ART GOLDBERG

RICHARD ~~PARKER~~

JON ~~SWAN~~

ANDREW KOPKIND

JOSHU

KEN ~~KELLEY~~

6/13/71

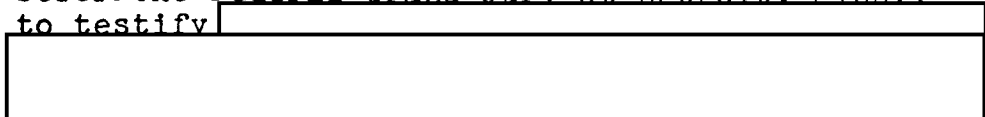


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b7C

SF T-3,
3/11/71 and
6/30/71

In June, 1971, [redacted] was subpoenaed to appear before the Federal Grand Jury at Detroit, Mich. to testify [redacted]

b3



SF 100-71157
JNS:rv

KELLEY is now managing editor of the Berkeley Barb.

The White Panther Party (WPP) is a national white, hippie-oriented revolutionary organization which was founded essentially to afford support to the Black Panther Party (BPP). It has advocated the published ten-point program of the BPP and has added a ten-point program of its own, all of which call for the unbridled personal freedom of the individual.

The Berkeley Barb is an underground newspaper published in Berkeley, California.

B. Contributing Authors in August/September issue of "Ramparts":

CAH
WARREN ~~WEBER~~
DEREK SHEARER
PAUL JACOBS
ROB ~~ELDER~~
GEORGE ~~BAKER~~
DAVID HOROWITZ
WALTER SCHNEIR
ANDREW KOPKIND

15



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

August 21, 1973

Title "RAMPARTS"

Character INTERNAL SECURITY -
REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
dated and captioned as above
at San Francisco, California.

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Marshall *mm/r*

DATE: 7/20/73

FROM : Mr. Malmfeldt *LSH*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *12/18* BY *h*

SUBJECT: ANDREW KOPKIND - JOURNALIST
INTERVIEW RE DIRECTOR

Assoc. Dir. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Files & Com. *✓*
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Cong. Serv. _____
Corr. & Crm. _____
Research _____
Press Off. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

mass. Police Department
By telephone 7/18/73, SAC Paul Young, Kansas City, advised that Chief Ellingsworth of Kansas City had received a call from ~~Chief of Police~~ Mark Fursteinberg of Boston regarding an attempted interview by Andrew Kopkind (described as a radical left-wing journalist for such publications as Ramparts magazine), who reportedly asked Chief Fursteinberg a number of derogatory questions about Director Kelley. Chief Fursteinberg said only good things about the Director and Kopkind reportedly seemed disappointed as he left, remarking that he was going to Washington, D. C., to interview people there.

ANDREW KOPKIND:

Andrew David Kopkind was born 8/24/35, at New Haven, Connecticut. He graduated from Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, in June, 1958, with a Bachelor of Science Degree, and while a student at Cornell he served as editor of the "Cornell Daily Sun," a daily student newspaper. In 1958, he was a reporter for the "Washington Post Times Herald," and from 1964-1967, was Associate Editor of "The New Republic Magazine," Washington, D. C. In 1970, he was listed as editor of "Hard Times" magazine in Washington, D. C., and resided at 1768 Columbia Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.

100-445393-
FBI Identification Division files reveal that on 7/31/64, Andrew Kopkind, born 8/24/35, was arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department on a charge of "647 apc (lewd conduct)." The lewd conduct charge was subsequently dismissed and Kopkind received a 30-day suspended sentence and one year probation on a disorderly conduct charge. (105-34074-53-617)

105-10722-
Kopkind has a history of alliance with New Left and radical activities, including the Venceremos Brigade and Students for a Democratic Society. On October 11, 1969, he was arrested in Chicago, Illinois, during a Students for a Democratic Society sponsored demonstration and was subsequently fined \$200.

- 1 - Mr. Herington
- 1 - Mrs. Metcalf
- 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *12/18* BY *h*

NOT RECORDED
172 AUG 2 1973

ENCLOSURE
ULG:jam (7)

AUG 13 1973

PERS. REC. UNIT

ORIGINAL FILED IN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Malmfeldt, to Marshall Memo

RE: ANDREW KOPKIND - JOURNALIST
INTERVIEW RE DIRECTOR

TO: Mr. Marshall

Byltr 8/24/72, the Director, United States Secret Service was advised that Andrew David Kopkind, a journalist for "Ramparts" magazine, Washington, D. C., was "potentially dangerous because of background, emotional instability or activity in groups engaged in activities inimical to U. S." (105-180772-15) His last known address was listed in Bureau files as 1819 Vernon Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The current telephone directory lists "Andrew D. Kopkind, ofc., 1065 31st N. W.," which is the address of "Hard Times," a section of "Ramparts" magazine.

By telephone [redacted] that [redacted] of [redacted] RAMPARTS MAGAZINE:

[redacted] view by Andrew Kopkind [redacted] for such "Ramparts" magazine is a monthly publication published in San Francisco, California, which has been described by a member of its staff as a "magazine of criticism and dissent." It was founded in 1962 by Edward M. Keating, a San Francisco attorney, who served as publisher and editor until April, 1967.

This magazine has been extremely critical of U. S. policy in Vietnam. It has a reputation of being a radical, muckraking national monthly which describes itself as "the largest left-of-center commercial magazine in the history of the United States."

[redacted] has contributed articles to this magazine in the past, as have numerous other critical writers.

at Cornell [redacted] as [redacted] student [redacted] It is noted that in early 1973, [redacted] identical to [redacted] was identified as being

"Ramparts" with the additional notation

Charge was subsequently dismissed
period sentence and one year [redacted]
RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information of the Director.

activities including the [redacted] Occasional Society, [redacted] Illinois, during a Students for [redacted] demonstration and was [redacted]

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

July 18, 1973

12:20 PM

SAC PAUL YOUNG, Kansas City,
called to advise the Director of
a call received from Chief
Ellingsworth of the Kansas City
Police Department.

Mr. Ellingsworth had been called
by Chief Mark Fursteinberg of the
Boston Police Department regarding
an attempted interview of Fursteinberg by Andrew
Kopkind, described as a radical left-wing
journalist. One of the publications Kopkind
writes for is RAMPARTS Magazine.

Kopkind had asked Chief Fursteinberg lots of
derogatory questions about Director Kelley and
the conversation seemed to center mostly around
these questions. Chief Fursteinberg said only
good things about Director Kelley and Kopkind
seemed disappointed and left.

Kopkind said on leaving that he was going to
Washington, D. C., to interview people here.

SAC Young thought the Director should know
about this in case he tries to get an interview with
him.

plm,edm

① Mr. Herington

None For information of

MR. BAKER _____
MR. CALLAHAN _____
MR. CAMPBELL _____
MR. CLEVELAND _____
MR. GEBHARDT _____
MR. JACOBSON _____
MR. JENKINS _____
MR. MARSHALL _____
MR. MILLER _____
MR. THOMPSON _____
MR. WHITE _____
MRS. METCALF _____
TELE. ROOM _____

ack memo dtd 7/20/73
re: Andrew Kopkind
ULG:jam

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. E. S. Miller *EM*

FROM : G. C. Moore *CEM/AD*

SUBJECT: [REDACTED] *7*

1 - Mr. E. M. Walsh
1 - Mr. R. E. Gebhardt
1 - Mr. R. R. Franck

DATE: 10/3/73

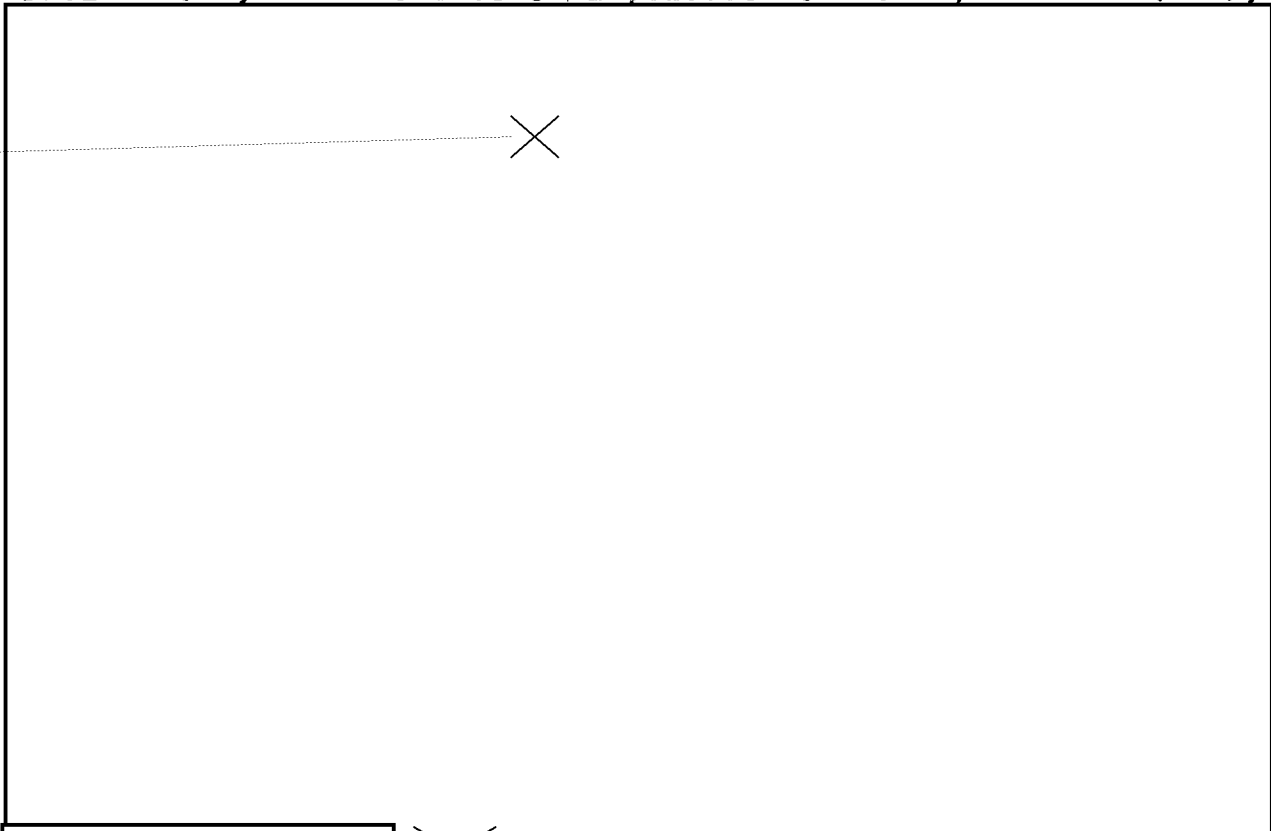
1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz *b6*
1 - Mr. E. S. Miller *b7C*
1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Assoc. Dir. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

CONFIDENTIAL

This is to advise of an article appearing in the *9-*
(U) August-September, 1973, issue of Ramparts magazine written by
Paul Jacobs, an associate of Institute for Policy Studies (IPS),



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b7C
b7D

Bureau records disclose that [REDACTED]

CLASS. & EXT. BY *REC-20 SP/ack/hc* 67735
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW *10/3/73*
RFO:kik
(9)

CONTINUED *NOVER* **NOT RECORDED**

170 OCT 11 1973 **CONFIDENTIAL**

NOV 23 1973

ROUTED TO [REDACTED]

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller

Re: [REDACTED] (C)

b7D

(U)

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFO has advised of learning from [REDACTED]

(U)

X

(U)

The main thrust of the article appears to be that both Federal and state agencies utilize informants to suppress the civil rights of others and this use of informants is often done solely for the purpose of political gain. Such surveillance procedures by Government authorities are as illegal and unconstitutional as those used by the Watergate conspirators. It appears the entire article is just one more case of sniping at the FBI in particular and law enforcement in general as well as an attempt to further embarrass the Administration over the Watergate incident. There are no new charges or allegations made which have not been set forth at some time in the past by disgruntled and self-motivated people who are attempting to spread their individual malignancy into society in general.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller

Re: [redacted]

b7D

(U)

ACTION:

None. For information. We will continue to keep you advised of pertinent developments.

RFO

has

Amle

Em

wras/tss

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

airtel

6/12/73

To: SAC, San Francisco (100-71157)

REC-138

From: Acting Director, FBI (100-445393)-190

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE
IS - RA

EX-103

ReSFairtel and LHM 5/31/73.

With respect to referenced LHM, as well as previous LHM's submitted by your office concerning captioned matter, FBIHQ notes that you have merely set forth in these LHM's a brief characterization of captioned magazine, a list of articles contained in the various issues of the magazine, and the identities of its staff members. LHMs of this type are not acceptable inasmuch as the information contained therein is of minimal intelligence value.

It is noted that in referenced LHM [redacted] identified as being [redacted] "Ramparts" magazine. As you are fully aware.

In all future LHM's and/or reports submitted concerning captioned matter, insure that your office files are carefully reviewed with respect to individuals who are identified as being staff members and where pertinent subversive information is available, incorporate this information into succinct subversive characterizations.

Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Baker _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Cleveland _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Gebhardt _____
Mr. Jenkins _____
Mr. Marshall _____
Mr. Miller, E.S. _____
Mr. Soyars _____
Mr. Thompson _____
Mr. Walters _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Baise _____
Mr. Barnes _____
Mr. Bowers _____
Mr. Herington _____
Mr. Conny _____
Mr. Mintz _____
Mr. Eardley _____
Mrs. Hogan _____

ELS:crk
(4)

MAILED 21
JUN 11 1973
JUN 15 1973 BI

Deleted Copy Sent
by Letter
Per FOIA Request

SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/1/80 BY [signature]

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**Airtel to San Francisco
Re: "Ramparts" Magazine
100-445993**

In addition, Headquarters noted that in your LHM's submitted in this matter no information has been set forth with respect to the location of printing and publishing facilities for the magazine, its circulation, its connection, if any, with any subversive organizations, if individuals directly associated with the magazine or articles appearing in its monthly issues advocate violence and the general nature of the publication itself. Accordingly, immediately institute a discreet penetrative investigation in order to fully develop this desired information. It is essential that information of this nature is determined in order that a proper judgement can be made concerning the need for a continuing investigation of this publication.

Further, merely listing the name of the article and its author is not sufficiently informative. You should in the future briefly summarize articles which have subversive content, which advocate violence, or violations within FBI jurisdiction. No reference should be made to articles which do not have contents of the type described above. Additionally, your office indices should be reviewed with respect to the authors identified and where subversive information is available, a brief subversive characterization should be set forth with regard to each individual author.

In addition, during the course of your investigation, attempts should be made to discreetly determine if captioned magazine is being sold and moved to Washington, D.C. In this connection, Headquarters notes that in an article appearing in "National Review" issue of 10/27/72. Page 1158. information was set forth to the effect

Upon completion of your investigation, pertinent information developed should be furnished to Headquarters in form suitable for dissemination. Along with this communication, submit your recommendation as to whether a continuing investigation of captioned magazine is warranted. When submitting this requested communication, the following predication should be set forth:

"The current investigation is based upon information that 'Ramparts' magazine, issue of 6/73 identified Bo Burlingham as being on the Editorial Board of this magazine, with the additional notation

**Airtel to San Francisco
Re: "Ramparts" Magazine
100-445393**

of 'Managing.' Sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have advised that [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] Information has been received that leaders of the Weatherman organization may be in violation of Title 18, U.S. Code, Sections 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), and 2385 (Advocating the Overthrow of the Government). The Weatherman organization in its public statements and publications advocates the desirability and necessity of overthrowing the U.S. Government by force or violence. This investigation is being conducted to determine whether those responsible for publishing 'Ramparts' magazine advocate subversion, violence or violations of law within FBI jurisdiction."

Every reasonable effort should be made during the course of your investigation to determine the degree of influence and/or control that [REDACTED] or other revolutionaries exert in setting policy for "Ramparts" magazine. Handle promptly as no dissemination of referenced LHM is being made at Headquarters.

Airtel to San Francisco
Re: "Ramparts" Magazine
100-445393

NOTE:

"Ramparts" magazine has been described in a San Francisco daily newspaper as being "a radical muck raking national monthly magazine published in Berkeley, California," and "Ramparts" describes itself as the largest left of center commercial magazine in the history of the U.S. In reviewing referenced LHM and also recent LHM's submitted by the San Francisco Office, it is noted that only minimal information is set forth, which information is of little intelligence value. There is every indication that because of its large circulation within the New Left Movement (it is estimated that approximately 150,000 issues are circulated) this magazine plays an important role within the movement. In view of the fact that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Accordingly, San Francisco is being instructed as indicated.

9/21/73

AIRTEL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

FROM: SAC, WFO [REDACTED] (P)

(U) [REDACTED] (OO:WFO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Enclosed for the Bureau are copies of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(U) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

During recent contacts with captioned source, source has not given any impression of having been made aware of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Bureau (Encl. 1)
WFO
ed

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP185/184
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 9/21/93

100-445393

67735

NOT RECORDED
170 OCT 11 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

ORIGINAL FILED IN

[REDACTED]

WFO contemplates no action re [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This communication serves
as an effort to keep the Bureau advised of current situations

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

5/8/74

Director, FBI (100-415762)

b6
b7C

PUBLICATIONS HANDLED BY
IS - 3 SECTION

1 - [REDACTED]

You are authorized to renew discreetly a one-year subscription to "Ramparts" for use of the Bureau. This subscription should be followed closely to insure that Bureau receives each issue of magazine as published. Because of the timely articles appearing in this magazine, the necessity for receipt of issues on a current basis is apparent. Continue to mark issues of magazine to attention of IS-3 Section, Intelligence Division.

Advise Bureau 30 days prior to 1975 expiration to allow time to consider renewal.

1 - IS-2 Section (Route through for review) [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED] (6221 IB)

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

EB:aso (7)

NOTE:

Renewal requested by SA [REDACTED] IS-2 Section, Intelligence Division. "Ramparts," revolutionary-type magazine, is of interest to personnel in the IS-2 Section. Annual cost is \$12 for the monthly.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/88 BY [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/21/88 BY [REDACTED]

DUPLICATE YELLOW

NOT RECORDED
47 MAY 13 1974

MAY 17 1974

NO
VAL
ONE

Mr. Franek

11-16-73

mel
G. E. Malmfeldt

O Ramparts

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT APPEAL TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
BY

The following files relating to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) appeal of captioned individual were reviewed by Department attorney Office of Legal Counsel, in the presence of SA Allen H. McCreight

b6
b7c

67-577304 - Section 1
67-577304 - Section 2

In addition, receipts were obtained by SA McCreight for the following files, which were turned over to the custody of Mr. Glovsky:

77-88478
94-40524
100-445393 - Section 3
100-460495 - Section 37
7-11777 - Section 32

On 11-16-73, the above files were returned to the custody of SA Allen H. McCreight. Receipts destroyed.

- 1 - Mr. Marshall
- 1 - Mr. Malmfeldt
- 1 - Bufile 67-577304
- 1 - Bufile 77-88478
- 1 - Bufile 94-40524
- ① - Bufile 100-445393
- 1 - Bufile 100-460495
- 1 - Bufile 7-11777

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-15-80 BY me

AM:law (10)

100-445393 -

NOT RECORDED
172 NOV 23 1973

SO
51 NOV 28 1973

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

5/16/75

Director [redacted]

**PUBLICATIONS HANDLED
BY IS-3 SECTION**

You are authorized to renew discreetly a one-year subscription to "Ramparts" for use of the Bureau. This subscription should be followed closely to insure that Bureau receives each issue of magazine as published. Because of the timely articles appearing in this magazine, the necessity for receipt of issues on a current basis is apparent. Continue to mark issues of magazine to attention of IS-3 Section, Intelligence Division.

Advise Bureau 30 days prior to 1976 expiration to allow time to consider renewal.

- 1 - IS-2 Section (Route through for review - [redacted])
- 1 - [redacted] (6221 IB)
- 1 - 100-445393 (Ramparts)

b6
b7c

EB:aso (7)

NOTE:

Renewal requested by SA [redacted] IS-2 Section, Intelligence Division. "Ramparts," revolutionary-type magazine, is of interest to personnel in the IS-2 Section. Annual cost is \$11 for the monthly.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/21/00 BY [redacted]
FOLLOW

100-445393
NOT RECORDED
12 MAY 23 1975

54 MAY 29 1975